The Dead Sea Scrolls

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Professor Rendsburg majored in English and Journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and received his B.A. in 1975. He then pursued graduate work in Hebrew Studies at New York University and received his Ph.D. in 1980.

Professor Rendsburg's areas of special interest include literary approaches to the Bible, the history of the Hebrew language, the history of ancient Israel, and the development of Judaism in the postbiblical period. It is this last field that the subject of the Dead Sea Scrolls fits most prominently.

Professor Rendsburg held a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship and taught as a visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Colgate University, the State University of New York at Binghamton, and the University of Sydney. He is a frequent guest of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he has twice served as Visiting Research Professor and has twice held the position of Visiting Fellow at the university's Institute for Advanced Studies.

Professor Rendsburg is the author of 6 books and more than 120 scholarly articles. His most popular book is a general survey of the biblical world entitled *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (1997), coauthored with the late Cyrus H. Gordon. His most recent book is *Solomon's Vineyard: Literary and Linguistic Studies in the Song of Songs* (2009), coauthored with Scott B. Noegel.

Professor Rendsburg has visited all the major archaeological sites in Israel, Egypt, and Jordan and has participated in excavations at Tel Dor and Caesarea. Most pertinent to this course, he has visited Qumran, the site of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, repeatedly over the span of several decades.

For more about Professor Rendsburg, visit http://jewishstudies.rutgers.edu/link/grendsburg.

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The Dead Sea Scrolls

Scope:

In 1947, the discovery of ancient documents in caves near the Dead Sea shook the world of biblical studies. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain not only our oldest copies of the Bible but Jewish texts from the 3rd century B.C.E. through 68 C.E. that provide an unprecedented view of Jewish history, culture, and religion from before and during the time of Jesus.

All told, 930 individual documents emerged from the caves of Qumran, located on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea; 230 of these are biblical manuscripts, representing every book of the Jewish Bible save Esther, with Isaiah, Psalms, and Deuteronomy the best represented. These texts greatly enhance our knowledge of how the Bible was transmitted in that age, representing an intermediate phase between the period of their authorship in ancient Israel and the appearance of the great medieval codices.

The remaining 700 documents provide extraordinary evidence about Jewish life during the late Second Temple epoch. Some 100 of the texts are too fragmentary to permit firm identification or classification. Another 250 of the texts are the common legacy of all Jewish groups during this period. Of greatest importance, however, are the approximately 350 texts that reflect the theological stance and ritual observance of a group known as the *Yahad*, a Jewish sect most likely related to the Essenes.

Since the *Yahad* was in constant contact and conflict with other Jewish groups of the period, we can also learn much about the Sadducees and the Pharisees from the Dead Sea Scrolls. From these documents, we learn that the Qumran sect considered the Temple to be totally impure and polluted, and thus they withdrew from the main focus of Jewish religious life and did not participate in the Temple cult in Jerusalem. Instead, they considered their body politic holy unto itself, a surrogate for the holiness inherent in the Temple.

The *Yahad* led a communal lifestyle, keeping no personal possessions and eating their meals communally. To enter the *Yahad*, one had to pass through certain initiation rites. The group applied the strictest interpretation to Jewish law, or Halakah, going so far as to refrain from toileting on the Sabbath. The group held that man had no free will but rather that all was predetermined or predestined by God. These positions conform to Josephus's description of the Essenes, leading scholars to make the connection between the Qumran sect and the Essenes.

We further learn that the Qumran group held to apocalyptic beliefs, anticipating a cosmic conflict in which the "sons of light" would defeat the "sons of darkness." Many of these beliefs resonate with the Christian movement, which began as a Jewish sect of the 1st century C.E. and which also was characterized by a communal lifestyle, distanced itself from the sacrificial system, and held apocalyptic beliefs. There are further points of similarity between the Dead Sea Scrolls community and the Jesus movement: Both groups believed in an ongoing revelation, both placed an emphasis on ritual immersion (baptism) not only for purification but for initiation, and both believed that the prophetic texts of old spoke to the present with new meaning and interpretation. This is not to say that Christianity and the Qumran community should be seen as one and the same—far from it, for as we stress in the course, the former relaxed Jewish law as much as possible, while the latter held to the most stringent interpretation of Halakah.

All of this information is forthcoming from the major documents, and we will read these compositions—namely, the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, Pesher Habakkuk, the War Scroll, the Temple Scroll, the Halakhic Letter, and the Thanksgiving Hymns. We progress both chronologically and thematically, beginning with the first scrolls to emerge from Cave 1, through which scholars determined the basic theological positions of the *Yahad*, and then proceeding to the legal texts, which were discovered and published only later, through which researchers learned about the strictures of the sect, especially in comparison to other, more moderate approaches attested in ancient Judaism. At times, we also will read more fragmentary texts, for even a few lines of a Qumran manuscript often reveal much about the sect's unique theological stance.

The course also tells the remarkable story of the scrolls' discovery, research, and publication. The first scrolls were found by accident by a Bedouin shepherd lad who was chasing a stray goat that had wandered into one of the Qumran caves. Scholars systematically explored other caves in the region until eventually 11 individual caves yielded texts. An international team was established to publish the manuscripts, although years, even decades, passed without sufficient progress. Finally, in 1991, developments both in the United States and Israel led to a new generation of researchers gaining access to the scrolls, until eventually all of the documents were made available to both scholars and the public. Throughout this period, archaeologists excavated the nearby site of Qumran, and we will review these finds as well.

In short, history, religion, archaeology, textual study, Bible transmission, and more all play a role in this course. These disparate approaches—all necessary given the great diversity of rich material from Qumran—combine to bring the Dead Sea Scrolls to light for a 21st-century audience.

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Lecture One
The Discoveries and Their Significance

Scope: Virtually all scholarship about the crucial historical period approximately 2,000 years ago has been affected by Dead Sea Scrolls research. In this lecture, we look at the discovery of the scrolls, the history of the scholarship about them, and the most important aspects of their content. To fully comprehend their significance, we also examine the state of scholarship concerning ancient Judaism and early Christianity just before the scrolls' discovery and show how relatively little scholars knew then.

Outline

I. The Dead Sea Scrolls are a group of 930 documents found at Qumran, on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea, between 1947 and 1954.

- **A.** The texts date to 250 B.C.E.–50 C.E., although the heyday of Qumran was 150–50 B.C.E.
- **B.** The texts are divided into three groups.
  1. First, 230 (25 percent) of them are copies of the books of the Jewish Bible—our oldest biblical manuscripts.
  2. Then 250 (27 percent) are compositions that were read and used by various Jewish groups of the period.
  3. Finally, 350 (38 percent) are the sectarian works, which provide a window into the theology, beliefs, and practices of a unique Jewish sect.
  4. Outside of these three categories are another 100 texts (11 percent) too fragmentary to be identified as either sectarian or nonsectarian.
- **C.** It is not always easy to distinguish between sectarian and nonsectarian text. As one scholar stated, one of the goals in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship is to identify "sectually explicit" literature.
- **D.** Most importantly, the scrolls shed unprecedented light on both the transition from biblical to postbiblical Judaism during the last two centuries B.C.E. and the development of Christianity as an offshoot of Judaism during the 1st century C.E.

II. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls created great excitement among scholars during the late 1940s and early 1950s that exists to the present day.

III. We will attempt to do a number of things at once during this course as we move back and forth among a variety of subjects.

- **A.** First and foremost, we will spend a lot of time reading the actual scrolls (always in English translation, of course), with an eye to uncovering the religious practices and theological ideas expressed.
- **B.** Second, we will return to the narrative of the discovery, publication, and dissemination of the material, which at times will read like a spy novel or thriller.
- **C.** Third, we will study some background information as we situate the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran community in the greater world of early Judaism—the epoch of the Maccabees and the Roman Empire.
- **D.** Fourth, we will note points of contact between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the development of both rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity.

IV. Let us review some highlights of the scrolls' discovery process.

- **A.** In 1947, seven scrolls in earthenware jars were accidentally discovered in a cave by a Bedouin shepherd.
- **B.** In 1948, the scrolls reached scholars in Jerusalem and were quickly published.
- **C.** Between 1948 and 1954, the nearby caves were systematically combed, and 11 yielded scrolls. The mother lode was found in Cave 4: more than 500 documents, though most were fragmentary. Pottery, textiles, and remains of foodstuffs were found as well.
- **D.** From 1951 to 1956, the nearby archaeological site of Qumran was excavated.
- **E.** From the 1950s to the 1970s, the scrolls were in the hands of an international team of scholars. Some scrolls were published quickly; for others the road to publication was long and arduous.
- **F.** In 1967, the largest scroll, called the Temple Scroll (11QT), finally came into the hands of scholars; it would be published 10 years later.
- **G.** The existence of one of the most important documents, the Halakhic Letter (4QMMT), was not announced until 1984, 30 years after it was discovered! It took yet another 10 years from announcement to publication.

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H. Finally, in 2002, scholars could truthfully state that they had published all of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 55 years after their initial discovery.

V. We provide some additional information about the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus as a whole.

A. The vast majority of the texts are in Hebrew, with a few in Aramaic and Greek. The amount of material in Hebrew is probably about 90 percent.

B. The vast majority of the documents are written on parchment. A small number of documents are written on papyrus. One unique text is written on copper!

C. Almost none of the scrolls were found intact. Nevertheless, about a dozen of the scrolls are lengthy enough and sufficiently well preserved to allow scholars a continuous read.

D. There are many different translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls, though generally these do not differ in any substantive manner. In our course, I will typically present my own translations of the original texts.

E. The standard English translation, Geza Vermes's *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, comprises about 500 pages, a bit less than half the length of the Jewish Bible.

VI. What did scholars know about early Judaism and nascent Christianity before the discovery of the scrolls?

A. The original Hebrew or Aramaic versions of the books of Enoch, Jubilees, and Maccabees, which were not canonized by Judaism, were lost; we only had later translations.

B. We had the New Testament, although in the main scholars did not use these books to reconstruct ancient Judaism.

C. The writings of Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–c. 50 C.E.), a great Hellenistic Jewish philosopher who lived in Egypt, informed us about Jewish life in the Greek-speaking diaspora.

D. The works of Josephus (c. 37–c. 100 C.E.), a great Jewish historian, have been invaluable in reconstructing not only the history but also the belief system of the times.

E. We had the later rabbinic corpus, including the Mishna and the Talmud, but these works date from the 3rd century C.E. onward.

F. Thus before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholars typically viewed Judaism through a single lens—namely, the rabbinic one. The Qumran documents reminded us how variegated Jewish life was during the last few centuries B.C.E. and the 1st century C.E.

VII. From Josephus, as well as other sources, we know of three main sects within Judaism: Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.

A. Only Josephus refers to all three groups; he also provides detailed descriptions of them.

B. Rabbinic texts strongly suggest that the rabbis are the heirs to the Pharisees. In addition, on occasion, the rabbinic sources mention the Sadducees.

C. Philo mentions the Essenes as an unusual sect of Jews, plus he refers to a group called the Therapeutae in Egypt, somehow related to the Essenes.

D. The New Testament books refer to the Sadducees and the Pharisees.

E. The Roman polymath Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.) refers to the Essenes. Pliny, Philo, and Josephus all refer to some among the Essenes as practicing celibacy.

F. But of all these groups, the only one that has a true voice is the Pharisees, via the later rabbis—which is to say, none of these groups speaks for itself in the period while the three are competing on theological and other grounds.

G. The Dead Sea Scrolls changed all of that! Finally, we have the voice of a specific Jewish sect from the 1st century B.C.E., and with these texts we finally realize how little we knew about the period.

VIII. Of all the Jewish groups of the period, which is responsible for these documents? Most scholars, as we shall see, accede to the Essene hypothesis, though we will examine alternative views as well.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 1–25.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 1–12.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3–17.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3–19.

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Suggested Reading:

Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*.

Feldman, "Flavius Josephus Revisited."

Questions to Consider:

1. Imagine yourself a scholar of ancient Judaism and early Christianity. What kind of expertise would you need to master your field of inquiry? What languages would you need to know?
2. What kind of manuscript discovery, real or imagined, would be able to compete with Albright's description of the Dead Sea Scrolls as "the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times"?

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Lecture Two
The First Seven Scrolls

Scope: In this lecture, we take you back to the Dead Sea Scrolls' fortuitous discovery at Qumran. We read passages from the scrolls, imagining ourselves as the first scholars who laid eyes on them. Two of the seven scrolls are copies of Isaiah that are approximately 1,000 years older than our hitherto oldest copies. Most striking is that one Isaiah manuscript adheres closely to our medieval copies but the other differs radically. We then turn our attention to the other five scrolls, each representing a previously unknown composition.

Outline

I. The Bedouin who accidentally discovered the scrolls in spring 1947 took them to Kando, an antiquities dealer in Bethlehem.

- **A.** Kando quickly sold four of the scrolls to Mar Samuel, the Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem and the other three to Professor Eliezer Sukenik of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- **B.** Mar Samuel turned to American and British scholars associated with the American Schools of Oriental Research in East Jerusalem, and granted them permission to publish the remaining four documents—but he did not actually sell them to the school.
- **C.** All seven scrolls were published as quickly as possible, with excellent photographs and transcriptions into modern Hebrew typeface, so that by 1951 scholars around the world could marvel at these unique documents.

II. At a very early stage, scholars began to see correspondences between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Essenes. In fact, Sukenik himself suggested such connections, though he did not fully develop the thesis.

- **A.** The full Essene hypothesis was developed by a French scholar, André Dupont-Sommer, in his monograph *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (*The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*).
- **B.** The Essene hypothesis would become the dominant view of scholars.

III. The three scrolls obtained by Sukenik were as follows.

- **A.** An incomplete manuscript of the book of Isaiah, resembling very closely the medieval copies on which our modern printed editions are based.
- **B.** The Thanksgiving Hymns, a collection of hymns in praise of God, somewhat like the book of Psalms.
- **C.** The War Scroll, describing the conflict between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, using explicit and specific military terms to detail the expected cataclysmic battle that would usher in the messianic age.

IV. The four scrolls published by the American Schools of Oriental Research were as follows.

- **A.** A complete manuscript of the book of Isaiah, only this one differs remarkably from the medieval copies.
- **B.** The Community Rule, which lays out the basic theological underpinnings of the community (eventually to be called "the Qumran sect" by scholars), along with the rules that govern day-to-day life.
- **C.** Pesher Habakkuk, a commentary on the biblical book of Habakkuk.
- **D.** A fourth scroll too brittle to open and read, though later efforts revealed it to be the Genesis Apocryphon, which provides expansive retellings of portions of the book of Genesis.

V. How did these texts wind up in a cave above Qumran?

- **A.** The general consensus is that a community of Jews lived nearby, in the archaeological ruin easily visible from this cave known as Khirbet Qumranand that this group stored their most valued possessions, namely, their sacred writings, in the cave shortly before the Roman army advanced towards the Dead Sea region.
- **B.** No doubt these Jews hoped to return to the area and reclaim these scrolls, though history had something else in store.
- **C.** Thus the scrolls remained in the cave until a goat strayed from the herd some time in 1947!

VI. Why two different versions of the book of Isaiah? How can we explain these divergent texts?

- **A.** The incomplete copy, called 1QIsa^{b}, reflects Biblical Hebrew more accurately and conforms very well to our medieval copies. Thus we may consider this version to be very close to the "original" book of Isaiah.
- **B.** The complete copy, called 1QIsa^{a}, incorporates linguistic forms particular to Qumran Hebrew, a dialect that diverges considerably from standard biblical Hebrew, and the text has numerous linguistic updatings.

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C. One theory holds that 1QIsa^{b} was intended for reading, while 1QIsa^{a} was used for studying; to uncover the book's true meaning, one needed the assistance of a linguistically updated version. However, this view is highly theoretical.

D. Later we will look at other biblical manuscripts from Qumran and will see that the other texts also are very fluid at this time. Scholars had long theorized that the process by which the biblical books reached us from ancient times was not as smooth as traditionally minded Jews and Christians have believed.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 26–48.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 209–238.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 15–38, 73–89, 160–189.

Questions to Consider:

1. Imagine yourself as Professor Sukenik in November 1947, with the first Dead Sea Scrolls in your hand, as the United Nations votes to create the state of Israel. What kind of emotions go through your mind as you connect the Jewish past with the Jewish present?

2. How would you go about, in systematic fashion, checking the two newly discovered Isaiah scrolls against a modern copy of the Bible in the original Hebrew?

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Lecture Three
Opening and Reading the First Scroll

Scope: The scroll known as the Community Rule or the Manual of Discipline (1QS) defines the Qumran group better than any other Dead Sea Scroll ever found. In it we see a series of initiation rites, the pooling of financial resources, the eating of communal meals, and a set of statutes governing regular meetings. On the theological side, we note an emphasis on dualism, mention of a priestly group known as the sons of Zadok, reference to predetermination or predestination, the prominence of purity, and a statement about two messiahs. Many of these features connect the Qumran sect to the Essenes.

Outline

I. In this lecture we survey a complete Dead Sea Scroll text: the Community Rule, also known as the Manual of Discipline.
- **A.** Its Hebrew name is *Serekh ha-Yahad*, with "*Yahad*" being the sect's self-designation.
- **B.** Upon reading this scroll, scholars immediately saw that the beliefs and practices presented in this text diverge from the rabbinic Judaism of the time.
- **C.** Some of these beliefs and practices correspond to those of the Essenes, including the initiation rites, the pooling of financial resources, and the eating of communal meals.

II. The Community Rule divides into the following sections.
- **A.** The Introduction, with an emphasis on community and covenant.
- **B.** The Tractate on the Two Spirits, presenting the essential dualism of the sect.
- **C.** The Statutes, a series of laws that governed the sect, including its communal lifestyle, organization, leadership, and so forth.
- **D.** The Rules for the Master, specific to the leader of the community.
- **E.** The Hymn of the Master, a poem in first person where the Master addresses God.

III. Let us examine some sample passages from the Introduction, found in the column 1, lines 9–17.
- **A.** "Sons of light" refers to members of the sect; "sons of darkness" refers to other Jews. Pagans and polytheists (Greeks, Romans, etc.) are beyond even talking about. One notes a vitriol that typifies religious sects, who see themselves as an oppressed minority.
- **B.** People are said to volunteer to be members of the *Yahad* and contribute their wealth to the group, thereby pooling their resources. This corresponds to Josephus's and Pliny's reports of the Essenes' communal pooling of wealth.
- **C.** The passage exhorts members "not to deviate in the smallest detail from any of the words of God." This is probably something that all Jews would have agreed to, but it is emphasized here in the Dead Sea Scrolls, not in other Jewish writings, and Josephus informs us that the Essenes were the strictest observors of Jewish law.
- **D.** Next the passage warns members not to alter the dates of holy days and festivals.
- **E.** Finally, the text speaks of initiation rites similar to those Josephus describes as the Essenes'.

IV. The Tractate of the Two Spirits (3:12–4:25) presents the essential dualism of the sect and speaks about predestination.
- **A.** God has created spirits of light and darkness in each person. The text uses expressions such as "prince of lightness" and "angel of darkness," both very reminiscent of terminology from Zoroastrianism, an ancient Persian religion.
- **B.** It makes many comments implying belief in predestination, which reminds us of Josephus's statement that the Essenes denied free will and relied solely on the doctrine of predetermination or predestination.

V. The Statutes section presents the laws of the sect.
- **A.** The beginning refers to the supervision of the sect by priests called the sons of Zadok.
- **B.** The last line of the section makes mention of "the coming of the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," a key passage, with two messiahs mentioned.
- **C.** The sect is said to "eat," "bless" (i.e., pray), and "advise" together—the communal aspects of the group in clear terms. Josephus notes that the Essenes lived a communal lifestyle.
- **D.** The statutes section includes punishment by confinement for various offenses.
- **E.** The Community Rule refers to ritual immersion in a number of places, which was practiced by all Jews in antiquity for the removal of ritual impurity. But the Community Rule presents something new.
  - **1.** 1QS 5:13–14 indicates that ritual bathing can remove not only ritual impurity but also sin and transgression.

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2. The setting of this passage is the initiation rite into the community. Thus, ritual bathing was a final act before one enters the *Yahad*.
3. Together, these items are paralleled in the various books of the New Testament.

VI. There are no references to women in the Community Rule. This point confirmed for many interpreters that the sect was celibate, and thus the linkage to the Essenes was made firmer, especially in light of Pliny.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 97–114.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 57–58.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 97–112.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 113–127.

Suggested Reading:

Rendsburg, "*lśwh* in 1QS 7.15."

Questions to Consider:

1. What is your reaction to the passage about "the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:11)? How does one begin to process this reference with its striking mention of two messiahs?
2. Notwithstanding the notice—by Philo, Josephus, and Pliny—that some Essenes were celibate, did scholars jump to too hasty a conclusion and make too much of the point that the Community Rule makes no mention of women?

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Lecture Four
The Historical Backdrop of Ancient Judaism

Scope: Let us consider the period in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were written. After a brief outline of the biblical period, which preceded their composition, we focus on the 2nd century B.C.E. through the 1st century C.E.: the reign of Antiochus IV, the Maccabean revolt, the Hasmonean dynasty, the arrival of the Romans, the reign of King Herod, the Zealot uprising, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fall of Masada.

Outline

I. We begin with a basic outline of the history of Israel during the biblical period.

- **A.** First came the premonarchic period (1400–1020 B.C.E.), including the era of the patriarchs, the time in Egypt, the Exodus, and finally the emergence of the nation of Israel through the period of the Judges.
- **B.** Next was the monarchic period, covering the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon and the division of Israel into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah after Solomon's death.
- **C.** Finally came the late period, including the Babylonian Exile, the Persian period, the reconstruction of the Temple, and the conquest by Alexander the Great.

II. The empire of Alexander the Great (333–323 B.C.E.) stretched from Greece in the west to India in the east—the largest empire the world had ever seen. Greek culture spread via Alexander's conquests, and thus we call this the Hellenistic period.

- **A.** In the Near East, including Israel, Greek ideas, thought, and culture blended with native, traditional Middle Eastern ones. Many people, especially in the larger cities, began to speak Greek.
- **B.** While Hellenism had clear influences on Jewish life, the Temple in Jerusalem remained the main focus and the main locus for the worship of God.
- **C.** During the 1st and 2nd centuries C.E., when the biblical canon was established by Jewish sages, one criterion for inclusion was authorship during the pre-Hellenistic period, since many of the ideals of Hellenism were inimical to traditional Jewish values.
- **D.** Even as many Hellenistic ideas permeated Judaism, such as the immortality of the soul, the canonical boundary remained.

III. In 301 B.C.E., four successor kingdoms to Alexander's empire emerged with relatively well-defined boundaries. For this course, two are relevant: the Ptolemies and the Seleucids.

- **A.** The Ptolemies ruled Egypt from their capital in Alexandria, and their kingdom extended into Judea.
- **B.** As under Alexander, Jewish religious life, especially the Temple cult in Jerusalem, continued with little change.
- **C.** One important development during this period was the translation of the Bible into Greek. Sponsored by Ptolemy II, the resultant translation is known as the Septuagint.
- **D.** Septuagint fragments were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, which indicates that even in the land of Israel, some Jews were reading the Bible in Greek translation.
- **E.** The Seleucids ruled in Antioch, in northern Syria/southern Turkey. The kingdom included all of Mesopotamia and Persia, so large numbers of Jews resided there as well.
- **F.** In 198 B.C.E., after the Battle of Paneas, the Seleucids gained control of all of Judea. Ptolemy territory was henceforth restricted to Egypt proper.
- **G.** Once more, Temple rituals continued unchanged in Jerusalem.

IV. All of this changed with the ascension of Antiochus IV (r. 175–164 B.C.E.), who began to persecute the Jews.

- **A.** During this period, the high priest served as the de facto leader of the Jewish people, since the Jews were seen more and more as a religious community, rather than a nation.
- **B.** Two passionate Hellenizers, Jason and Menelaus, vied for the high priesthood, and Jerusalem began to look more and more like a Greek polis.
- **C.** Menelaus ascended to the role of high priest by outbidding Jason before Antiochus IV.
- **D.** Fed up with internecine Jewish fighting, Antiochus IV sought the total Hellenization of the Jews, and in fact Menelaus assisted him.

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E. The Jews were subjected to a royal decree that forbade Jewish modes of worship, forbade the observance of the Sabbath and the festivals, outlawed circumcision, and forced Jews to sacrifice pigs to Greek gods in the Jerusalem Temple.

V. Some Jews, called the Hasidim, or the pious ones, resorted to civil disobedience and therefore suffered martyrdom by the hundreds if not thousands; others took a more active role, in particular the Maccabees.

A. The Maccabee patriarch was Mattathius, with his son Judah as the active military leader.

B. Much to the surprise of everyone, the Maccabees defeated the Seleucids.

C. This was the first war in the history of mankind fought for the sake of religious freedom.

D. The first act of the victorious Maccabees was the purification and rededication of the Temple in 164 B.C.E., which led to the establishment of Hanukkah.

E. Members of the Maccabee family established the Hasmonean dynasty and ruled until 63 B.C.E. Judea gained greater and greater independence from the Seleucids.

F. Jonathan Maccabee assumed the role of high priest in 152 B.C.E. Many scholars believe that he is the Wicked Priest of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

VI. It is easy to see why the Essene movement sprang up at this time. Even with the Temple purified and in Jewish hands again, the Essenes disapproved of the manner in which the Temple was governed.

A. They disapproved of all the contenders for high priest.

B. The Qumran community believed that only the "sons of Zadok" should serve as priests, and thus they saw all other priests as emanating from illegitimate priestly lines.

C. One can understand the *Yahad* retreating from the general Jewish community to establish their center at Qumran.

VII. The Hasmonean dynasty ruled until the coming of the Romans.

A. Under John Hyrcanus (r. 134–104 B.C.E.), Judea expanded greatly; his conquests included Idumea (biblical Edom), whose people were forcibly converted to Judaism, and Samaria, where he destroyed the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim.

B. Aristobulus I (r. 104–103 B.C.E.) had a very short reign but was the first to call himself king.

C. Alexander Janneus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.) fostered a close relationship with the Essenes, which may explain why a blessing to King Jonathan (his Hebrew name) has been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q448).

D. Janneus's wife was Salome Alexandra, who on her husband's death became Queen of Judea (r. 76–67 B.C.E.).

E. The Maccabees revolted to oppose Hellenization, yet within decades, the Hasmonean rulers had stylized themselves more and more as Hellenized monarchs.

VIII. When the sons of Alexander Janneus and Salome Alexandra, Hyrcanus II (r. 67–66 B.C.E.) and Aristobulus II (r. 66–63 B.C.E.) fought for the throne, they invited the Roman general Pompey to mediate.

A. Pompey took control of Judea and Jerusalem, with Hyrcanus II as his puppet king (r. 63–40 B.C.E.).

B. The Dead Sea Scrolls occasionally refer to the arrival of the Romans, though they use the code word Kittim (originally referring to Cyprus in the Bible).

C. Antigonus (r. 40–37 B.C.E.) attempted to regain the throne independently, without the recognition of Rome.

D. Herod the Great (r. 37–4 B.C.E.) claimed Hasmonean succession through his marriage, convinced the Roman Senate to declare him king of Judea, and then arranged for the execution of Antigonus.

E. Interestingly, Herod is not mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls, either because the Qumran community had far retreated from public life by this time or because most of the documents antedate Herod.

F. Within a decade or so after Herod's death, Rome came to rule Judea directly through a series of prefects, or governors, the most famous of whom is Pontius Pilate (26–36 C.E.).

IX. The Zealot movement rose in opposition to Roman rule. It had both political and apocalyptic overtones.

A. The first Jewish Revolt took place between 66 and 73 C.E.

B. The Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the Second Temple in 70 C.E.

C. Masada, the last Zealot holdout, fell in 73 C.E.

X. A new Judaism developed, post-Temple.

A. The synagogue rose as the locus of Jewish worship.

B. The Jewish people migrated throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, an event called the Diaspora.

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XI. The Second Jewish Revolt (132–135 C.E.), led by Simeon Bar-Kokhba, ended in disaster; the Romans forbade Jews from living in Jerusalem and its environs, and thus the center of Jewish life moved north to Galilee.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 65–72.

———, *From Text to Tradition*, 1–176.

Suggested Reading:

Jaffee, *Early Judasim*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What is your opinion of the Hasmoneans? Do you take a positive, negative, or indifferent view towards them?
2. Would you have joined the Zealot revolt? Or to word this differently, what Roman actions or policies would have been necessary to make you join the Zealot cause?

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Lecture Five
The Rise of the Jewish Sects

Scope: The main sects of Judaism in the late antique period were the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and Zealots, although other groups such as the Samaritans and early Christians dotted the landscape. We explore the theological differences between and among these sects, especially as presented by the Jewish historian Josephus. A leading question in Qumran scholarship is which of these groups wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls. The dominant theory associates them with the Essenes.

Outline

I. An introduction to the life and career of the great Jewish historian Josephus.

- **A.** Josephus was general of a Jewish fighting force in Galilee who surrendered his troops to the Romans in 67 C.E., after which he joined the Romans as a chronicler of events.
- **B.** In this role, he witnessed the fall of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temple, and the fall of Masada.
- **C.** After the Jewish revolt, Josephus settled in Rome, where under the patronage of the Flavius family he wrote his important historical works, composed in Greek, to explain Jewish history and Jewish religion to a Greco-Roman audience.

II. The Jewish sects as presented by Josephus.

- **A.** At the beginning of the Maccabean, or Hasmonean, period, three main sects arose in Judaism: Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes.
- **B.** In the decades leading up to the Jewish revolt, a fourth group, the Zealots, or Sicarii, arose. They were a militant group who advocated independence from Rome.
- **C.** Josephus also mentions Jesus of Nazareth, though the passage was doctored by later Christian scribes. Josephus does not refer to the nascent Christian movement.

III. The Sadducees were the main priestly group, supported by the nobility and aristocracy of Judea.

- **A.** Their approach to Jewish religion was essentially biblical; they believed that sacrifices in the Temple, as laid out in the Torah, was the sole manner by which God could be worshipped.
- **B.** They denied the existence of angels and the immortality of the soul.
- **C.** They also denied the existence of the Oral Law, a concept developed by the Pharisees.
- **D.** On the question of fate versus free will, the Sadducees believed in free will only.
- **E.** They did not believe in the resurrection of the dead.

IV. The Pharisees had the support of a broader segment of the population.

- **A.** They developed customs and practices not found in the Bible and transferred many customs associated with the Temple to the home.
- **B.** They believed in the existence of angels and the immortality of the soul.
- **C.** Most importantly, they developed the concept of the Oral Law, an amorphous collection of religious practices, equal to and parallel to the Written Law, or the Torah. In their conception, both were given by God to Moses at Sinai.
- **D.** On the question of fate versus free will, the Pharisees took a middle ground.
- **E.** The Pharisees are mentioned several times in the New Testament, but usually in a negative way as overly concerned with laws and rituals and with a self-righteous attitude.

V. The Essenes were separatists, living more to themselves, less involved in the Pharisee-Sadducee dichotomies.

- **A.** They lived communally, with no private wealth.
- **B.** They had a series of initiation rites.
- **C.** They had a stricter approach to Jewish law than the other groups.
- **D.** They agreed with the Pharisees concerning the immortality of the soul and the existence of angels.
- **E.** They denied free will and believed that everything is preordained or predetermined by God.
- **F.** Some of the Essenes were celibate.

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VI. Pliny the Elder visited Israel (probably in the 60s C.E.) and mentioned the Essenes living without women and dwelling near the Dead Sea—almost undoubtedly referring to the community of Qumran.

A. It is possible that Josephus's three groups had further subdivisions. As a parallel, today we speak about three major divisions within Christianity (Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant), with further denominations beneath those.

B. Perhaps the Qumran community fell under the Essene umbrella but did not match up with Josephus's Essenes. Thus some scholars prefer to speak of the community as an Essene-type group.

VII. Other Jewish groups existed during this period, and thus some scholars prefer to speak of "Judaisms" in the plural, with a "common Judaism" uniting the disparate sects and movements.

A. Early Christians can be subdivided into Judaizing Christians who wished to continue Jewish ritual practice and non-Judaizing Christians who believed that the Jewish rituals had no place in the nascent Christian movement.

B. The Ebionites, mentioned by later church fathers, were a Jewish Christian group who accepted Jesus as messiah but did not believe him to divine.

C. The Therapeutae were an ascetic group in Egypt, mentioned by Philo.

D. The Boethusians, an offshoot of the Sadducees, were mentioned in the Talmud, but we know very little about them.

E. The Samaritans were an early offshoot of Judaism (c. 500 B.C.E.). The main issue separating the Samaritans from the Jews was the question of where to worship God: Mount Zion in Jerusalem or Mount Gerizim above Shechem. Samaritans also rejected the Davidic kingship and related traditions.

VIII. The Qumran community was clearly within the Jewish orbit and had no links to the Samaritans, but some of the peculiar grammatical features of Qumran Hebrew occur in the Samaritan brand of Hebrew as well. Does this suggest a deliberate attempt to distance themselves from the Jerusalem authorities by both the Samaritans and the Qumran community?

IX. Judaism was a very variegated religion during this period, something which we should have known all along, but something scholars did not fully perceive until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 49–66.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 71–92, 99–118.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239–292.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 72–81, 154–157, 249–255.

Questions to Consider:

1. If you were alive in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.E., with which of the three main Jewish sects—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—would you most likely align? Why?

2. Given the variegated picture of Judaism painted in this lecture, do you think that scholars should speak of a single Judaism or multiple Judaisms?

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Lecture Six
The Dead Sea Site of the Qumran Sect

Scope: The archeological site of Qumran, near the Qumran caves, was first excavated shortly after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The site was inhabited between about 134 B.C.E. and 68 C.E., which matches the best scholarly estimate for the date of the scrolls. Among the most important buildings uncovered were a large meeting room, a pantry, a scriptorium, and several *miqva'ot* (ritual baths). The regnant hypothesis quickly developed: The scrolls were written at Qumran and were hidden in the nearby caves from the advancing Roman army.

Outline

I. Before discussing the excavations at Qumran, let us look at its general area, including the topography of the Dead Sea region.

- **A.** If we take Jerusalem as our starting point, heading due east, we reach the desert right on the outskirts of the city.
- **B.** We travel 37 kilometers through the desert as the road descends precipitously all the way to the Dead Sea.
- **C.** Turning south, we reach Qumran about five kilometers away.
- **D.** It is almost impossible to describe the isolation and remoteness of Qumran, along with the loneliness that one feels there.
- **E.** Qumran is on flat land near the shore of the Dead Sea, while the caves are in the cliffs above the archaeological site.
- **F.** There is very little water around. The Dead Sea is salt water, undrinkable and unusable, but nearby flows a wadi, called the Wadi Qumran, and from here the Qumranites obtained their fresh water, diverting it into specially constructed channels that flowed to the site.
- **G.** This is the lowest spot on Earth, at 400 meters below sea level. The Dead Sea and entire Jordan valley are part of the great Syrian-African rift, which begins north of Qumran and extends south through the Red Sea, into Ethiopia and Kenya.
- **H.** In addition to its salt content, the Dead Sea contains minerals such as potassium, magnesium, and bromine. The result is that nothing lives in these waters—thus the name "Dead Sea," although in Hebrew it is called *yam ha-melah*, "the Salt Sea."

II. Soon after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, scholars realized that they would need to excavate the site of Qumran, located about 1,000 meters away.

- **A.** Père Roland de Vaux of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française led the excavations, which were administered by the Dominican monastery in Jerusalem.
- **B.** De Vaux traced the period of settlement to c. 134 B.C.E.–c. 68 C.E., with a slight interruption following an earthquake in 31 B.C.E.
- **C.** Three vessels containing more than 500 coins were found, a major help in establishing the specific chronology of the site. Most are dated to the reign of the Seleucids. The fact that these coins were all found together suggests that this was the community treasury.
- **D.** In the early years of Qumran research, carbon-14 dating was brand new and thus little used. Subsequently, various organic materials, including some of the scrolls themselves, were tested, and a rough date of c. 100 B.C.E. was calibrated—confirming de Vaux's estimates.
- **E.** Major buildings were found, including a tower; a pottery-manufacturing area; a kitchen and pantry; a main meeting hall, which probably doubled as the dining hall; a scriptorium in which writing tables and ink wells were found; and an elaborate system of cisterns and *miqva'ot* (ritual baths) fed by an aqueduct leading from the nearby Wadi Qumran.
- **F.** Lacking were private homes and residences, which led de Vaux to see a the inhabitants living communally.
- **G.** The scriptorium and ink wells indicated that scribal activity was prominent, so once more a connection was made to the scrolls found in the nearby caves.

III. De Vaux and his colleagues interpreted their finds in the light of their own experiences as monks.

- **A.** Bolstered by Pliny's reference to the Essenes as dwelling without women and renouncing desire, de Vaux saw the Qumran community as a forerunner of Christian priestly orders.
- **B.** De Vaux may have been right, but the background for his interpretation needs to be noted nonetheless.

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IV. Between 1948 and 1954, scholars systematically combed the caves in the area, with the assistance of the local Bedouin. In all, 11 caves yielded scrolls.

- **A.** Although the caves are situated in cliffs, note that their location is still about 250 meters below sea level.
- **B.** Most are natural caves, but some are man-made.
- **C.** The caves were numbered in the order of discovery. Caves 1 and 2 are about one kilometer north of Qumran, and caves 3 and 11 are about another kilometer north. Caves 4–10 are only between 100 and 300 meters from the site.
- **D.** The mother lode was discovered in Cave 4, one of the man-made caves: more than 500 documents, though most were in a very fragmentary state.

V. Excavations of Qumran since de Vaux's time.

- **A.** The cemetery was excavated in 1966–1967, though only a small portion of the 1,100 graves were exhumed. Among them, however, were some women.
- **B.** The 1970s and 1980s saw off-and-on excavations by Pesach Bar-Adon and his successor Vendyl Jones of a large cave near Cave 11, which yielded finds from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.
- **C.** In 1984–1986 and again in 1991, Joseph Petrach explored dozens of additional caves in the area, ranging from four miles south of Qumran to four miles north of Qumran, with archaeological remains from the Second Temple period found in 17 such caves.
- **D.** Between 1993 and 1996, Hanan Eshel and Magen Broshi thoroughly explored the area again and established a clear link between the caves and the archaeological site. They further posited that some members of the sect may have lived in tents beyond the excavation site as well as in the caves themselves.

VI. Years after the first discoveries, scholars continued to study the initial finds. Jodi Magness has written the standard work, entitled *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Among her findings are the following.

- **A.** About half of the clay of the Qumran pots was imported from Jerusalem.
- **B.** The cylindrical jars in which the scrolls were found are distinctive of Qumran. And since such jars were found both in the caves and at the site, we have another connection between the two locales.

VII. As long as we are talking about these scroll jars, the following tales from antiquity may be of interest.

- **A.** The church father Origen (185–254 C.E.) reports that in his lifetime a scroll containing the book of Psalms in Greek was found in a jar near Jericho.
- **B.** A century later, the church father Eusebius (c. 260–340 C.E.) described the same text and mentions other Greek and Hebrew manuscripts found in a jar near Jericho.
- **C.** Finally, around 800 C.E., Timotheus I, a Nestorian patriarch wrote that the books of the Old Testament were found near Jericho.
- **D.** Were these discoveries from the Qumran caves? Probably not, but they inform us that other groups in the desert hid their scrolls in jars as well.

VIII. What happened to the Qumran community?

- **A.** The group clearly abandoned the area in 68 C.E., when the Roman legions were marching through Judea.
- **B.** Presumably they deposited their most valuable possessions, their scrolls, in the caves nearby, hoping one day to return.
- **C.** A copy of one particular Dead Sea Scroll, called Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, was found 48 kilometers to the south at Masada, leading scholars to conclude that some members of the sect sought refuge there.

IX. The disappearance of the Qumran community and other sects paved the way for the emergence of rabbinic Judaism.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 12–25.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20–54.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 31–61, 395–397.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 53–67.

Suggested Reading:

Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

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Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent do you think Roland de Vaux's status as a Catholic priest influenced his reconstruction of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, based on his excavation of the former and his reading of the latter?
2. Scholars continue to return to the caves in the general Dead Sea region in search of additional documents and treasures. To what extent do you think these activities are governed by true scholarly research versus the quest for glory, adventure, and publicity?

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Lecture Seven
The Emergence of the Rabbinic System

Scope: The later rabbinic texts come from several centuries after the florescence of Qumran, but their traditions were likely present at the time the Dead Sea Scrolls were composed. This lecture defines the term "rabbi"; then we consider connections between the Pharisees and the slightly later rabbis as well as the growth of the rabbinic movement during the first few centuries C.E. We focus on the Mishna, or Oral Torah; the two Talmudim; the Halakah, or Jewish law; and other important rabbinic concepts. While scholars once viewed rabbinic Judaism as normative, today we understand the rabbis as one of many streams within Judaism of the period.

Outline

I. What became of the various Jewish sects of the period?

- **A.** Since the Sadducees' raison d'être was the worship of God in the Temple in Jerusalem and the Temple was in ruins, they eventually died out.
- **B.** Whether or not we accept that the Qumran sect is a group of Essenes, it is clear that the number of Essenes was never great. In times of great upheaval, as in 70 C.E., such small groups often die out as well.
- **C.** The war against Rome brought disaster and the destruction of Jerusalem, so the Zealots also faded away.
- **D.** The Christian community continued to develop, but it became less and less a Jewish phenomenon and more and more a Gentile one. For our present purposes, therefore, the Christian movement is not very relevant.
- **E.** The only group that bridged the Second Temple period and the period after the Temple's destruction are the Pharisees.

II. The term "rabbi" is encountered for the first time in the New Testament, used, for example, by both followers of Jesus and John the Baptist.

- **A.** The word means simply "master" (or more literally "my master"), but it seems to have been adopted most of all by the Pharisees as a title for their teachers, especially those who mastered the law.
- **B.** We do not have Pharisaic-Rabbinic texts from the period of the Dead Sea Scrolls or the New Testament. All we have are the voluminous rabbinic texts from about 200 C.E. onward.

III. The rabbinic corpus of texts is as follows.

- **A.** For the purposes of our course, if not for all purposes, the most important rabbinic text is the Mishna. It is the earliest codification of Jewish law, or Halakah, and dates to about 200 C.E.
- **B.** The Mishna has six orders—Seeds, Festivals, Women, Damages, Holy Things, and Purities—each of which in turn is divided into 8–12 tractates treating specific issues.
- **C.** A key question in the study of Judaism is, Did the Mishna innovate new law, or did it simply put into writing practices that had existed for centuries? We will assume the latter.
- **D.** The Tosefta—literally "supplement"—is a companion and contemporary to the Mishna and is organized along the same principles.
- **E.** The Talmud of the Land of Israel seeks to explicate the laws of the Mishna, as the sages of the next several generations discussed the legal process, the rationale for specific laws, and more. The project was not completed but simply came to an end around 400 C.E.
- **F.** The Babylonian Talmud, encyclopedic in nature, was produced by rabbinic sages in Babylonia. Once more, the succeeding generations of scholars debated and discussed the legal process and the rationales for specific laws. It also contains legends and folklore, expanding on many stories in the Bible. The final work is dated to about 500 C.E.

IV. A striking linkage between the Pharisees as described by Josephus and the rabbinic movement as witnessed by their own texts is in the area of compatibilism.

- **A.** Compatiablism is the middle ground between free will and predetermination.
- **B.** In the Mishna tractate Avot, which contains maxims attributed to individual rabbis, Rabbi Akiba (d. 135 C.E.) is quoted as saying, "All is foreseen, but the authority is given"—which matches perfectly with the compatabilism of the Pharisees.
- **C.** It may not be surprising that the Pharisees and their rabbinic successors won out. Philosophical extremes frequently fall by the wayside, allowing the center to continue onward.

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V. We will need to keep these texts in mind throughout our course, particularly the Mishna, whose laws often stand in contrast to the practices attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

VI. Previous generations of scholars believed rabbinic Judaism became the norm after the second Jewish revolt. Today, scholars believe that much of the variegated Jewish life we can reconstruct from the Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus continued in the centuries following.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition*, 177–269.

Suggested Reading:

Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Sadducees and Essenes die out after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.? What could they have done differently to ensure their continuation even after that major upheaval?

2. We noted that the Pharisees won out because they held a middle ground in a philosophical debate. Can you think of any other factors?

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Lecture Eight
A Dead Sea Scroll from Medieval Cairo

Scope: During the 1890s, tens of thousands of Jewish manuscripts were discovered in the storeroom of the medieval Ben Ezra Synagogue in Cairo, Egypt. Among the texts were two copies of a previously unknown composition now called the Damascus Document. During the 1950s, scholars found several fragmentary copies of the Damascus Document in Qumran Cave 4. This lecture discusses the document's origins. We read selected passages from this important document, most importantly the section on the Sabbath law but also shorter passages related to marriage and divorce.

Outline

I. During the 1890s, the greatest manuscript discovery in world history occurred when 200,000 documents were found in the storeroom of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Cairo.

- **A.** Jewish law does not allow one simply to discard holy texts; they must be disposed of with honor and dignity. One system is burial, while another is deposition in a dedicated storeroom, known as a genizah.
- **B.** The Cairo genizah documents date to the Middle Ages and provide an extremely detailed picture of the life of the medieval Jewish community of Cairo.

II. The story of the discovery of the Cairo genizah also bears telling.

- **A.** Some scholars became aware of the existence of the Cairo genizah in the early 1890s, but travel to the Middle East was difficult, and thus access was very limited.
- **B.** Eventually, a pair of Scottish sisters named Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson came to England with Hebrew documents they obtained in Cairo.
- **C.** The sisters showed them to Solomon Schechter, a reader of Hebrew at Cambridge University, who immediately realized the importance of these medieval texts.
- **D.** With the assistance of authorities from Cambridge University, Schechter arranged for the purchase of 140,000 documents from the Cairo genizah, and they remain housed at the Cambridge Library to this day.
- **E.** Another 40,000 documents were obtained by the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and smaller numbers are housed in Manchester, England, and St. Petersburg, Russia.
- **F.** Among the Cairo genizah documents are early manuscripts of the Mishna and the two Talmudim; the Hebrew original of the book of Ben Sira; new texts of Targum—that is, Aramaic renderings of the Bible; autographic letters and other texts signed by Maimonides; and perhaps the greatest surprise of all, a commentary by Saint Augustine on the Sermon on the Mount, as a palimpsest.

III. Among the cache were two copies of a unique document, now called the Damascus Document. Although the manuscripts were medieval (10^{th} and 12^{th} centuries C.E.), the first scholars to work on them realized immediately that the composition itself was much older.

- **A.** Schechter published the text as Documents of Jewish sectaries, edited from Hebrew manuscripts in the Cairo genizah collection, now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, vol. 1: Fragments of a Zadokite work.
- **B.** While Schechter incorrectly believed that the Damascus Document was associated with the Dositheans, a Samaritan sect, he properly understood the text's antiquity.
- **C.** Louis Ginzberg then produced the basic interpretation of the work under the title *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (*An Unknown Jewish Sect*).
- **D.** Ginzberg believed it was the product of a splinter Pharisee group—a bit more on-target than Schechter's view, but still incorrect.
- **E.** Four copies of the Damascus Document turned up in Cave 4, with two further fragment found: one in Cave 5 and one in Cave 6. Clearly, this was a seminal text for the Qumran community.
- **F.** While the aforementioned fragments are numbered in the usual manner of Qumran texts (4Q266, 4Q267, etc.), the text revealed by the Cairo manuscripts is known as CD (for "Cairo Damascus").

IV. We can use the medieval manuscripts of the Damascus Document, which are virtually intact, to further our understanding of the ancient Qumran community.

- **A.** The title comes from the repeated mention of the sect's exile to Damascus (based on a reinterpretation of Amos 5:27), which presumably is a metaphor for the sect's removal from Jerusalem to Qumran.

B. The document divides neatly into two halves: First, the Exhortation describes the founding of the community 390 years after the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, placing us within a few decades of the early Maccabean period.

C. The text mentions a leader known as the Teacher of Righteousness (*moreh zedeq*), who is mentioned frequently in other Dead Sea Scrolls.

D. Whereas the Bible sees the exile as a punishment by God for Israel's sins, the Damascus Document turns this passage into a praiseworthy action and a promise for salvation.

E. Certain strict legal positions are also taken, such as the prohibition against having more than one wife (indeed, this passage also may prohibit divorce) and the prohibition against uncle-niece marriage.

F. The second half of the Damascus Document is the Statutes. Its most significant section is the Sabbath law, which in numerous places reflects a stricter Halakah than the rabbinic approach. Recall Josephus's description that the Essenes observed Jewish law in a stricter fashion than other Jewish groups.

V. We should emphasize here that all the Jewish groups could agree on one belief: The Torah is divine. The dividing point between and among them was the matter of interpretation.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 125–156.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 55–57.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 90–95, 273–287.

Questions to Consider:

1. Imagine yourself as Solomon Schechter reading the documents as they emerged from the Cairo genizah. What kind of learning would you need to possess to be able to identify the Hebrew original of Ben Sira? Or to realize that the Damascus Document was an ancient composition, not a medieval one? Or to be able to identify still other documents in the cache?

2. For (especially American) participants in this course, the closest analogy to the interpretation of the Torah by its latter-day adherents is the interpretation of the U.S. Constitution by latter-day jurists. Can you think of specific examples (beyond the example of the Second Amendment) still debated to the present day where judges and legislators disagree over the interpretation of a specific passage in this foundational American document?

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Lecture Nine

Pesher Interpretation—Prophecy Read Anew

Scope: *Pesher* is a method of interpretation whereby the true message of a biblical book is understood to speak to present-day conditions, not the original historical setting. We look at several such texts, focusing on the Pesher Habakkuk. We read further of the Teacher of Righteousness (the leader of the Qumran sect) and meet the Wicked Priest (his key opponent). We also discover that the community used a separate calendar from other Jewish groups of the time. Finally, we note *pesher* interpretation present in the New Testament as well.

Outline

I. Various forms of Bible interpretation have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, including retellings or paraphrases of biblical stories; an Aramaic translation of the book of Job; one plain-sense commentary on the book of Genesis; and, most important and most distinctive among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *pesher* texts.

- **A.** *Pesher* (Hebrew plural *pesharim*) refers to a particular form and style of Bible interpretation.
- **B.** Typically a biblical passage is quoted, and then the text continues, "its *pesher* is … " meaning "its interpretation is … ." Then the text explicates the biblical passage.
- **C.** The *pesher* interpretation, however, takes the biblical book out of its historical context and reinterprets the passage for the present.
- **D.** The main *pesher* texts are of the prophetic books Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah and the book of Psalms. In this lecture, we focus on Pesher Habakkuk, which covers all of chapters 1–2 of the biblical book, authored around 610 B.C.E.

II. Hab 1:5 states, "Behold the nations and see, marvel and be astonished; for I accomplish a deed in your days, but you will not believe it when told." The *pesher* then states, "This concerns those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they did not listen to the word received by the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God" (1QpHab 2:1–2).

- **A.** The Teacher of Righteousness was the leader of the sect. Of course, we gain no further information to his identity, no hint of his name, when he might have lived, and so forth.
- **B.** The teacher receives divine communication from God concerning the proper interpretation of scripture.
- **C.** We need to judge this statement against the later rabbinic statement that prophecy ended with Malachi. Scholars used to assume that the rabbinic statement was directed at Christianity, but it may have been directed at the Essenes.

III. Hab 1:6 refers to the Chaldeans (or Babylonians) as "that bitter and hasty nation." The *pesher*, however, interprets this phrase to refer to the Kittim, the Qumran code word for the Romans "who are quick and valiant in war, causing many to perish" (1QpHab 1:10–12).

- **A.** In other words, the Qumran text would have us believe that for about 600 years the text of Habakkuk was transmitted without anyone knowing the true meaning.
- **B.** People presumably took "Chaldeans" at face value, meaning the Babylonians, but the Pesher Habakkuk tells us they were wrong.
- **C.** Here we see the belief that a text only bears the meaning that its interpreter ascribes to it.

IV. Hab 2:2 describes how God told Habakkuk, "Write down the vision and make it plain upon the tablets." For the *pesher* writer, the prophecy of Habakkuk speaks to the present day: "And God told Habakkuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end" (1QpHab 7:1–3).

- **A.** We see here an eschatological message inherent in this text, though one would be hard-pressed to read such a message in its original context.
- **B.** Hab 2:2 continues with the phrase "that he who reads it may read speedily," which for the *pesher* author "concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets" (1QpHab 7:4–5).

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V. Hab 2:4 states, "But the righteous shall live by his faith," with the assumption being that the righteous person shall prosper by his own faith in God. But the *pesher* author states that the faith is directed through the Teacher:

> This concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgment, because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. (1QpHab 8:1–2)

A. This same passage of Habakkuk is quoted three times in the New Testament (Romans 1:17, Galatians 3:11, and Hebrews 10:37–38), as Paul sees this passage referring to Jesus and to the future life.

B. We have uncovered, accordingly, a key nexus between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament; both the Qumran sect and the early Christians used Hab 2:4 as a key passage in their theology of a single individual through whom faith is to be directed.

VI. Hab 2:15 reads, "Woe to him who causes his neighbors to drink, who pours out his venom to make them drunk that he may gaze on their feasts." The *pesher* text says

> This concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to the house of his exile that he might confuse him with his venomous fury. And at the appointed time for rest, for the Day of Atonement, he appeared before them to confuse them, and to cause them to stumble on the Day of Fasting, their Sabbath of repose. (1QpHab 11:5–8)

A. We learn here about the Wicked Priest, the opponent of the Teacher and of the Qumran community, undoubtedly to be identified with one of the Hasmonean high priests or kings. Many scholars believe that this is Jonathan Maccabee.

B. Incidentally, the phrase puns on the Hebrew term for "high priest," *kohen ro'š*, versus "the wicked priest" *ha-kohen ha-raša'*.

C. We further learn that the Qumran sect must have used a different calendar than other Jews, for how else could the Wicked Priest have traveled on Yom Kippur? It must have been Yom Kippur in Qumran, but not in Jerusalem.

VII. The *pesher* method of interpretation is found throughout the New Testament as well.

A. The most famous examples are Matthew 1:23, which invokes Isaiah 7:14 to refer to the birth of Jesus to his mother Mary; and a host of passages that apply Isaiah 53 (the suffering servant passage) to Jesus's suffering.

B. For hundreds of years, the Isaiah passages were transmitted by Jews with meanings unrelated to Jesus, but the Christian community now understood these verses as speaking for the present.

C. This is exactly what we see in Pesher Habakkuk and the other *pesher* texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Habakkuk's original intent and original context are irrelevant.

VIII. This is perhaps a good time to take stock of what we have learned thus far in our course, vis-à-vis Essene–Dead Sea Scroll–Christian connections. We have identified six points.

A. Dualism is seen in the Community Rule and the New Testament.

B. Celibacy was practiced by some Essenes and was an ideal for early Christians.

C. Divorce and polygamy were forbidden.

D. Both believed in continued revelation beyond the books of the prophets, as indicated by statements concerning the Teacher of Righteousness and by the New Testament books.

E. Habakkuk 2:4 is used in Pesher Habakkuk and in three New Testament verses.

F. Both use the *pesher* method of interpretation.

IX. Does the Qumran sect have much in common with early Christianity? Yes, definitely, as this growing list of connections demonstrates.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 478–485.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 43–51.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 117–121, 223–238.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 90–98.

Suggested Reading:

Horgan, *Pesharim*.

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Questions to Consider:

1. Notwithstanding the fact that Paul quotes Habakkuk 2:4 three times in his letters, on what grounds could you argue that too great an emphasis is placed on this presumed nexus between the *Yahad* and the Jesus movement?
2. How do you envision the Teacher of Righteousness? Do you think he was a single individual who founded the sect, or do you think that this may have been a title that was borne by consecutive leaders of the community?

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Lecture Ten
The War Scroll and Other Apocalyptic Texts

Scope: The War Scroll is one of the original seven documents found in Cave 1. It details a cataclysmic battle between the sons of light (the sect's self-designation) and the sons of darkness (all other Jews, apparently), using military techniques and maneuvers known from Roman sources. Our reading of this scroll leads us to consider apocalyptic belief among the Dead Sea sectarians, which very clearly links this group with the early Christian community. But early on in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, the War Scroll suggested to some scholars that the Qumran community belonged to the Zealot movement.

Outline

I. The War Scroll is a major document found in Cave 1 in 1947. There are also eight additional fragmentary copies from Cave 4, indicating that this document was of prime importance to the Qumran community.

II. The War Scroll provides a manual for the conduct of the war of the sons of light against the sons of darkness, with the former referring to the Qumran community and the latter referring to their enemies, also called "the army of Belial."

- **A.** All evil is to be destroyed at the appointed time, and God's rule will be established. We know that there must be an appointed time, because we already have discussed the Essene belief in predetermination.
- **B.** Included among the enemies are not only other nations such as the Kittim, but (perhaps more importantly) other Jews with whom they disagree over theological and doctrinal issues—that is, the sons of darkness.
- **C.** Once more we see the essential dualistic nature of the particular type of Judaism adhered to by the *Yahad*, with the world divided into good and evil.
- **D.** Later on, the text uses very strong language, including expressions such as "day of vengeance" (*yom naqam*, 1QM 7:5) and "war of God" (*milhemet 'el*, 1QM 9:5), making it very clear what kind of battle is described here.
- **E.** We also note a connection to the New Testament here, since the expression "sons of light" occurs in John 12:38 and 1 Thessalonians 5:5.

III. The War Scroll was one of the three scrolls purchased by Eliezer Sukenik from Kando in 1947. Sukenik's son was Yigael Yadin, both a leading general in the Israeli army and a leading historian and archaeologist. He combined his two interests to produce a detailed study of the War Scroll published in 1957.

IV. The War Scroll divides as follows.

- **A.** Its introduction begins with reference to

  > the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, the exiles in the desert [who will] return from the Desert of the Peoples to camp in the Desert of Jerusalem; and after the battle they will go up from there [that is, to Jerusalem to do battle]. (1QM 1:2–3)

- **B.** The General Rules of Battle include detailed descriptions of the trumpets, standards, weaponry, movements, and so forth, along with the duties of the priests and Levites who will accompany the troops. Scholars have concluded that the military arrangement and tactics described are based on the Roman legion.
- **C.** The Prophetic Description of the Final Battle demonstrates clearly that the sect saw this battle in apocalyptic terms—that is, "The purpose [actually *goral*, "fate"] of God is eternal redemption" (1Q15:1) and "destruction for all the nations of wickedness" (1QM 15:2). Incidentally, angels fight on both the sides: good and evil.

V. Apocalyptic is a particular type of eschatological thought with a linear (as opposed to cyclical) view of time, a calendar element, and the notion of a cataclysmic battle.

- **A.** Apocalypticism was borrowed from Zoroastrianism and dovetails nicely with dualism. It filtered into Judaism especially in the last few centuries of the biblical period, exemplified most of all by the canonical book of Daniel.
- **B.** One finds apocalyptic in other postbiblical Jewish works as well, although the two apocalyptic movements best known to us are the Qumran community and the early Christians.
- **C.** In contrast to early Christian belief, the Dead Sea Scrolls are less focused on a messiah figure. The word "Christ" or "messiah" appears more than 500 times in the New Testament but only 32 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
- **D.** In the War Scroll, "messiah" appears only once (1QM 11:7), and in the plural, just as we saw in the Community Rule.

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VI. Another apocalyptic text found at Qumran is the Rule of the Congregation (or the Messianic Rule, 1QSa). This text provides "the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the last days" (1:1) and culminates in the communal meal, to be presided over by the messiah (2:20–21).

VII. Several scholars, including G. R. Driver of Oxford University and Chaim Rabin of the Hebrew University, believed that the presence of the War Scroll among the Dead Sea Scrolls indicated that the Qumran community belonged to the Zealot movement.

- **A.** This theory is not accepted today, but it is worth mentioning that the Zealot movement may have had apocalyptic beliefs attached to it.
- **B.** Josephus does not mention the apocalyptic view of the Essenes because he was writing for an educated Greco-Roman audience, under Roman patronage, and any hint of apocalypticism would be seen as subversive and treasonous.

VIII. Once more the Jewish nature of these texts is self-evident. However, it may be useful to consider Dead Sea Scrolls–Christian connections again. The War Scroll offers a major point of contact: the apocalyptic vision.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 137–186.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 64–67.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 317–327, 329–339.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 128–143.

Suggested Reading:

Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls.*

Questions to Consider:

1. What is the main attraction of apocalyptic thought in ancient times and in modern times?
2. Have we explained the absence of any mention of apocalypticism in Josephus's description of the Essenes correctly? Is any other explanation readily forthcoming? Is it possible that we are totally off-track, and if so, in what way?

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Lecture Eleven
Biblical Manuscripts at Qumran

Scope: While none of the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts can be considered anything like the "autographed original" of, say, Isaiah or Jeremiah, they nevertheless push our knowledge of the biblical text back to ancient times. In this lecture, we enter the arcane world of biblical textual criticism, a scholarly enterprise that attempts to establish the original text of the Bible. We discuss the scribal transmission of texts in antiquity, the oral reading tradition, ancient translations of the Bible, the Samaritan version of the Torah, and most pertinently the biblical manuscripts found in the Qumran caves.

Outline

I. In biblical times, texts were produced in two versions: oral and written. Scribes copied the text over and over again, while tradents transmitted the text orally from generation to generation (though most likely they held a text in their hands as a guide).

II. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we had evidence of divergent manuscript traditions, especially from the Septuagint.

- **A.** The Septuagint was the first translation of the Bible into any language, but other renderings would follow: Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and so forth. At times, these translations reflect a different Hebrew text, known as the Vorlage.
- **B.** In the traditional Hebrew text, Exod 1:5 states that 70 Israelites (Jacob and his family) went down to Egypt. In the Septuagint, the text presents the number as 75 Israelites.
- **C.** In the traditional Hebrew text, Deut 32:8 states, "He [i.e., God] set the boundaries of the peoples [i.e., of the world], according to the number of the children of Israel," using the Hebrew phrase *bene yisra'el*. The Septuagint states, "according to the number of angels of God," using the Greek expression *angelôn theou*.
- **D.** The Samaritans had their own version of the Torah, though as all scholars agree, the divergences therein stem from linguistic updating of the older text during the Persian period and from ideological matters.

III. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the only authentically ancient Hebrew text that we possessed was the Nash Papyrus, found in Egypt in 1898.

- **A.** A small piece of papyrus of 24 lines dated to about 125 B.C.E., it contains the Decalogue and the beginning of the Shema prayer.
- **B.** Otherwise, our oldest copies of the Bible in Hebrew are medieval manuscripts, in the form of great codices dated to around 900 C.E. (Aleppo Codex) and 1009 C.E. (Leningrad Codex). These works are known as the Masoretic Text, based on the Hebrew word *masora* ("tradition").
- **C.** When the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, we obtained 230 copies of biblical books. Every biblical book except for Esther is represented among the scrolls.
- **D.** The only complete book that we possess is Isaiah, as presented in 1QIsa[a]. Recall that this is a linguistically updated version of the book of Isaiah and that it departs from the Masoretic Text.
- **E.** The best represented of the biblical books are Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah, with 34, 27, and 24 copies, respectively. As another linkage to early Christianity, these are also the most cited books in the New Testament.
- **F.** Ranking next are other books of the Torah: Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus (20, 13, and 9 copies, respectively), and then the 12 minor prophets and Daniel (with 8 copies each)—the latter attesting to the apocalyptic component prevalent in the Qumran sect.
- **G.** Furthermore, in the case of the Daniel manuscripts, dated to about 125–100 B.C.E., these documents were copied only several decades after the book (or at least its second part) was composed in 164 B.C.E., the year of the Maccabean revolt.
- **H.** Nine copies of books of the Torah are written in the paleo-Hebrew script. In other copies, the Qumran scribes wrote the four-letter name of God, YHWH in the ancient script, though the rest of the document is written in the newer script.
- **I.** Some of these manuscripts have been submitted to carbon-14 dating, and the results of these tests match the paleographic analysis.

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IV. The Qumran manuscripts adhere to what would emerge as the Masoretic Text most of the time but diverge at others.

A. We noted above a minor discrepancy between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint concerning Exod 1:5. We posited that the LXX translators had a different Vorlage, a different Hebrew text, one that read 75, instead of 70—and then, among the Dead Sea Scrolls, we find 4QExod^{a}, which also reads 75!

B. There is a discrepancy in Deut 32:8, with the Masoretic Text reading "according to the number of the children of Israel" and the Septuagint reading "according to the number of angels of God." The Septuagint translators must have had a Vorlage akin to these Qumran texts.

C. In 1 Samuel 11, the Masoretic Text commences a story with no apparent background. 4QSam^{a} supplies several verses before reaching 1 Sam 11:1, thereby providing the background of the story.

D. Some of the manuscripts, such as 1QIs^{aa}, present a linguistically updated text, sometimes with features of Qumran Hebrew included.

V. When did all these variations in the actual text of the Bible die out? The answer is not long after the end of the Qumran period. Our evidence comes from other locations near the Dead Sea, including Masada and several caves in the vicinity of Ein Gedi.

A. At Masada several biblical documents were found that all match the later Masoretic Text very closely.

B. The caves near Ein Gedi are from the Bar Kokhba period also matching the Masoretic Text.

C. All of this indicates that some time in the late 1st or early 2nd century C.E., variant texts no longer were countenanced by Jews.

D. Does this have to do with the end of Jewish sectarianism? Scholars once thought so, but we cannot be so certain any more.

VI. The biblical manuscripts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls teach us much about the transmission of the biblical text over the course of long periods of time. Notwithstanding some important differences from manuscript to manuscript, overall one is impressed by the degree of coherence between the Qumran copies and the medieval codices.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 29–33, 121–141.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 87–153.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 161–180.

Shanks, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Forty Years*, 56–73.

Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*.

Suggested Reading:

Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Are any of the variants from text to text discussed in this lecture truly crucial?

2. Do you think the scribes and tradents of antiquity, especially those of ancient Israel and postbiblical Judaism, performed their tasks responsibly or sloppily?

Lecture Twelve

Alternative Views of Qumran and the Scrolls

Scope: We have presented the majority opinion concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls. To be fair, we must mention competing views. Norman Golb holds that the documents represent the library of the Temple in Jerusalem, brought to the caves during the war against Rome. A group of Israeli archaeologists believe that Qumran was a fortress with no connection to the scrolls. Robert Donceel and Pauline Donceel-Voute reconstruct a wealthy villa from the ruins of Qumran. A hybrid view is proposed by Jean-Baptiste Humbert: Qumran began as a villa rustica, after which the Essenes arrived and inhabited the site. Still others propose connections with other Jewish sects, including the Sadducees and Zealots.

Outline

I. We have proceeded on the assumption that Qumran was an Essene community that, in advance of the arrival of the Roman army, deposited their scrolls in nearby caves. But other scholarly opinions have been offered. Why is this?

- **A.** Generally speaking, in the academy, scholars are willing to go out on a limb to offer something truly original, even if it means (at times) stretching the evidence to the limit and then some.
- **B.** The fascination with the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially since these precious documents date to the cusp of the bifurcation of Judaism and Christianity, seems to have generated a public ready to consume any theory that somehow sounds new and innovative.
- **C.** Because we have so much new evidence, sometimes pointing in different directions, and because prior to the discovery of the scrolls so little was known about the 1st century B.C.E. in this area, in many ways there was room for any individual scholar to spawn a new theory.

II. Let us examine some of these alternative interpretations.

- **A.** When the scrolls first were discovered, Solomon Zeitlin went against the scholarly consensus by proclaiming that the scrolls were of medieval origin. This idiosyncratic view had no followers.
- **B.** G. R. Driver and Chaim Rabin believed that the Dead Sea Scrolls community had Zealot connections. They have found latter-day adherents in Michael Wise and Robert Eisenman.
- **C.** Norman Golb believes that the scrolls have no connection to the nearby archaeological site nor to the Essenes. He opines that the scrolls represent the library of the Jerusalem Temple, which was brought to the caves in the months before the Romans entered Jerusalem.
- **D.** Robert Eisenman believes that many if not most of the scrolls date to the 1st century C.E. In addition to positing Zealot connections, he identifies James the Just, the brother of Jesus, as the Teacher of Righteousness. (None of this can be correct based on the carbon-14 dating of the scrolls.)
- **E.** Barbara Theiring also believes that the scrolls originate in the 1st century C.E., with specific connections to early Christianity, though she goes even further by claiming that the Teacher of Righteousness is John the Baptist and that the Wicked Priest is Jesus.
- **F.** Jose O'Callaghan believed that 7Q5, written in Greek, is a copy of Mark 6:52–53. In truth, the only complete word in this tiny Greek fragment is the word *kai* ("and"), from which one cannot build an entire theory.
- **G.** Yizhar Hirschfeld, Yitzhak Magen, and Yuval Peleg deny a connection between Khirbet Qumran and the scrolls in the caves. They believe that the archaeological site is first and foremost a fortress, with some farming and trading in the area.
- **H.** Lena Cansdale believes that Qumran was an important commercial center on a north-south trade route through the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, with a spur to Jerusalem.
- **I.** Robert Donceel and Pauline Donceel-Voute posit that Qumran was a villa or manor house, inhabited by wealthy individuals.
- **J.** Jean-Baptiste Humbert has developed a hybrid view. He agrees with the Donceels that Qumran began as a villa rustica but believes that the Dead Sea Scrolls sect later occupied the site.
- **K.** Finally, Lawrence Schiffman believes that the sect originated within the Sadducee movement. He bases this judgment on several important connections between various Halakhic views expressed in the scrolls and the same views attributed to the Sadducees in rabbinic texts.

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III. Returning to Golb's view: Although I (along with the vast majority of scholars) do not accept it, Golb has forced those who adhere to the Essene opinion to focus our argument a bit better.

A. It is quite clear that the scrolls present Essene beliefs and practices in many places.

B. There is also the manner in which key phrases repeat in the scrolls.

1. "Sons of light" (Hebrew *bene 'or)* and "sons of darkness" (Hebrew *bene hošek*) occur in both the War Scroll and in the Community Rule.

2. "Teacher of Righteousness" (Hebrew *moreh zedeq*) appears in the Damascus Document, the Pesher Habakkuk, and 4Q171 = 4QpPs^{a}, 4Q173 = 4QpPs^{b}, and 4Q172 = 4QpUnid.

3. "Wicked Priest" (Hebrew *ha-kohen ha-raša'*) appears in Pesher Habakkuk and again in 4Q163 = 4QpIsa^{c} and 4Q171 = 4QpPs^{a}.

4. To my mind, these and other examples demonstrate that the documents cohere as a corpus, or at least a significant number of them cohere as sectarian documents.

C. Of course, Golb is correct that not all the documents belong to the single sect, since many of the texts (about 250) belong to a common Judaism of the time. But this number is outweighed by the 350 "sectually explicit" texts.

D. In short, Golb has issued an important challenge to the majority opinion, but his counter-approach does not bear up to scrutiny.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 23–26, 92–97.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 311–320.

Shanks, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Forty Years*, 1–17.

Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?*

Questions to Consider:

1. Why are there so many divergent views concerning Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls? What is it about this subject that generates so many different opinions?

2. Has the argument presented at the end of this lecture sufficiently responded to Norman Golb's challenge?

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Lecture Thirteen
Stops and Starts En Route to Publication

Scope: All seven original scrolls from Cave 1 are on display at the Israel Museum. The vast majority of the documents, however, were uncovered while Qumran was under Jordanian rule; these scrolls were taken to the Palestine Archaeology Museum, now the Rockefeller Museum, where a team of international scholars transcribed and translated them. One additional major scroll remained in private hands—the very important Temple Scroll. At 67 columns, it is the longest of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Outline

I. We return to the fascinating narrative of how the scrolls came into the hands of scholars and how scholars published the scrolls.

- **A.** Recall that Mar Samuel allowed scholars to view, photograph, and publish the four scrolls from Cave 1 he had obtained, but he did not sell them right away.
- **B.** Samuel moved to the United States in 1949 to become the Syrian Orthodox Church's patriarchal vicar to the United States and Canada.
- **C.** In 1954, Samuel placed an ad in *The Wall Street Journal*, looking to sell the four scrolls.
- **D.** By coincidence, Yigael Yadin was in the United States at the same time. Yadin—via an intermediary—purchased the scrolls on behalf of the Hebrew University.
- **E.** These scrolls were thus reunited with the three remaining Cave 1 scrolls. Together, they formed the basis for the Shrine of the Book, a special pavilion at the Israel Museum built in 1965, which displays these seven scrolls and additional Qumran finds.

II. At first, the Dead Sea Scrolls were mainly the subject of scholarly interest. This changed in May 1955, when literary critic Edmund Wilson first published an essay in *The New Yorker*, and later that year a book, called *The Scrolls of the Dead Sea*.

III. The great majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in 1948–1954 during the systematic exploration of the caves of Qumran while that part of Israel was under Jordanian rule.

- **A.** The scrolls were taken to the Palestine Archaeology Museum in East Jerusalem.
- **B.** There the Jordanian Department of Antiquities created a team of international scholars—though it should be noted no Jewish scholars were included.
- **C.** J. T. Milik, a Polish-born priest, was, according to most experts in the field, the most brilliant member of this team and, according to at least one accounting, published more texts than anyone else.
- **D.** Individuals were assigned to transcribe and translate particular scrolls. Their scholarly efforts were published by Oxford University Press in a series called Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.
- **E.** Some scholars, such as John Allegro, performed their task with alacrity, while others, such as John Strugnell, tarried for decades. These delays led to controversies.

IV. One of the great tales from this period is the relationship between Roland de Vaux (then at the École Biblique in Jordanian-held East Jerusalem) and Yadin (at the Hebrew University in Israeli West Jerusalem). The two archaeologist-scholars—with offices only four kilometers from each other—had to correspond via Geza Vermes, a colleague living in England.

V. In June 1967, Israel captured East Jerusalem (as well as the rest of the West Bank territory held by Jordan) during the Six-Day War. The Israel Antiquities Authority gained control of the scrolls but left the original team of scholars intact.

- **A.** By sheer coincidence, during the war, a selection of the Dead Sea Scrolls kept in the Palestine Archaeology Museum were on temporary exhibit in the Amman Archaeology Museum—and there they remain to this day!
- **B.** Because of the politically charged name "Palestine," the Israeli authorities changed the name of the museum to the Rockefeller Museum, since the project had been funded by John D. Rockefeller II.
- **C.** As another result of the Six-Day War, Israel gained control of the West Bank, including Qumran itself and the city of Bethlehem.

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VI. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, rumors abounded that another lengthy Dead Sea Scroll had been found and was still in private hands, most likely Kando's.

A. Yadin, serving once more as a general in the Israeli army, sent his troops to "liberate" the scroll from Kando's shop in Bethlehem.

B. The shopkeeper had been keeping the scroll in a shoebox under his floorboards, and thus some of the scroll had deteriorated. Fortunately, most of the text still was legible.

C. Yadin spent the next 10 years working on the scroll, which, at 9 meters long and 67 columns, is the longest by far of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

D. The document deals with Temple rituals, and thus Yadin labeled the text the Temple Scroll (11QT). Its discovery and publication would forever change Dead Sea Scrolls research.

VII. In the very international world of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, one country not mentioned until now is Germany. Two German scholars are particularly worth noting.

A. Otto Betz, mainly a New Testament scholar, suggested that John the Baptist was an Essene, perhaps with very direct association with the Qumran community.

B. Hartmut Stegemann developed a unique way to correlate fragments by comparing not their contents but rather their physical properties. He was able to help scholars match thousands of Cave 4 fragments.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 187–193.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 55–81, 381–403.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 21–31.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 39–52.

Wilson, *The Scrolls of the Dead Sea*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Can you excuse the scholars who delayed and prolonged the publication of the texts assigned to them, or are the delays inexcusable?

2. Do you consider the 10-year span from Yadin's obtaining the Temple Scroll until its publication with extensive commentary to be an acceptable period of time? Or do you think that he should have published this text more quickly (presumably without commentary)?

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Lecture Fourteen

The Qumran Vision for a New Temple

Scope: The remarkable Temple Scroll is a reworking of the Torah's laws, using Deuteronomy as its base, with incorporations from Leviticus and elsewhere. Truly noteworthy is the shift from the original third-person wording in Deuteronomy to first-person wording in the Temple Scroll (that is, God as the speaker). Did the Qumran community consider the Temple Scroll a text of revelation? Did the Essenes believe in an ongoing revelation? How does this link up with early Christianity? Given the Temple Scroll's focus, we consider the role of the Jerusalem Temple in ancient Jewish life.

Outline

I. The Torah includes three separate legal collections in Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy. Some topics are discussed in all three, with differences between and among the sources.

II. The author of the Temple Scroll composed a single long text to bring all these sources into conformity with one another. The order of presentation is based mainly on Deuteronomy, with the legal material from Exodus and Leviticus (especially the latter) inserted and discussed where appropriate.

III. The main subjects are the following.

- **A.** The Covenant between God and Israel.
- **B.** The Temple, especially the architectural layout of the inner chambers; this portion of the manuscript is badly damaged.
- **C.** The sacrifices, both for daily worship and for the festivals; the list includes some holidays not part of common Judaism.
- **D.** The various items in the outer courtyard of the Temple.
- **E.** The outer courtyard of the Temple complex with its many gates and subdivisions.
- **F.** Purity laws concerning not only the Temple itself, but the city of Jerusalem and other cities in the land of Israel.
- **G.** Various laws concerning idolatry, vows, oaths, apostasy, and so forth.
- **H.** Laws relating to the king.
- **I.** Various laws concerning the conduct of war, criminal law, incest, and other topics.

IV. Most striking is the manner in which the Temple Scroll speaks in the first-person voice of God, in contrast to the first-person voice of Moses in the book of Deuteronomy with God referred to in the third person.

- **A.** More than 20 times in Deuteronomy, Moses refers to the worship site as "the place that YHWH will choose to set his name" or similar, understood by later readers to refer to Jerusalem. In the Temple Scroll the phrase is "the place upon which I choose to set my name" (11QT 52:16).
- **B.** About a dozen times in Deuteronomy, Moses refers to the land of Canaan as "the land that YHWH your God gives to you to inherit" or similar. In the Temple Scroll, it is "the land that I give you to inherit" (11QT 51:16).
- **C.** In the Torah, Numbers 30:2 states, "If a man makes a vow to the LORD … ," whereas the Temple Scroll states, "If a man makes a vow to me … " (11QT 53:14).
- **D.** The shift to first-person address suggests that the Temple Scroll is to be seen as a book of revelation from God to the people of Israel.
- **E.** Again, we repeat the connection with early Christianity, which sees the New Testament books as revealed scripture.
- **F.** Recall that later rabbinic tradition claimed that prophecy ended with Malachi. This claim was seen as a polemic against Christianity, but in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we now must consider this as an equal critique of other Jewish sects of late antiquity.

V. While in some Dead Sea Scrolls the divine name YHWH is written in older paleo-Hebrew script, in the biblical scrolls, it is in the contemporary script. This latter system is followed in the Temple Scroll, indicating that for the Qumran sect—or certainly this particular scribe—it was the equivalent of a book of the Bible, indeed a Torah from God.

VI. The Halakah of the Temple Scroll is much stricter than that of the rabbis.

- **A.** The scroll argues that only hides of animals that were slaughtered in the Temple could be used to transport wine and other products to the Temple.

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B. The rabbis took the position that sacrificing a pregnant animal does not violate the law of Leviticus 22:28, but the Temple Scroll states that it does. (One needs to realize here the economic hardship that the more stringent view creates.)

C. Given these strict views, it is clear that the Qumran sect considered the actual Temple in Jerusalem to be impure and polluted.

D. In his description of the Essenes, Josephus marvels at the fact that they did not defecate on the Sabbath. We have evidence from the Temple Scroll and the Qumran site that confirms this practice.

VII. As long as we are treating the issue of the Temple and Jerusalem, we need to discuss the enormous size of the Temple as described by the Temple Scroll.

A. It is square, in contrast to all other descriptions of the different Temples in the Bible, including the First Temple built by Solomon, the vision of Ezekiel concerning the rebuilt Temple, and then the actually constructed Second Temple.

B. It is 1,600 cubits (or about 0.45 mile) on each side, which amounts to about 160 acres! This would be the size of all of Jerusalem during the Maccabean or Hasmonean period. By comparison, Solomon's Temple was 60 cubits long.

VIII. Our last point concerns the law of the king as presented in the scroll.

A. The basis for this is Deuteronomy 17:14–20. The king is not to multiply wives, not to multiply silver and gold, and not to engage in horse trade with Egypt. He is also to have a written copy of this law (Hebrew *tora*), which is to be read to him regularly.

B. 1 Samuel 10:25 informs us that Samuel wrote down the law (Hebrew *mišpat*) of kingship in a book. One can imagine later generations of Jews wondering, where is this book?

C. It is possible that all of this forms the background for the lengthy section concerning the king in the Temple Scroll. No surprise in light of our earlier discussion about polygamy and divorce, or the lack thereof, that the king is to have but one wife.

D. We also learn that the king should have a council consisting of 12 priests, 12 Levites, and 12 nonsacerdotal leaders of the people.

IX. Finally, we should contemplate the larger picture emerging from our study of the Temple Scroll, with two notable points.

A. We cannot emphasize this document enough, especially since it showed Dead Sea Scrolls researchers how important legal/Halakhic issues were, with the Qumran sect stricter at every turn.

B. Clearly, the Qumran community was very Temple focused, even though the *Yahad* members had elected to stop participating in the Jerusalem Temple cult.

C. Naturally, much of the contents of the Temple Scroll is but an ideal, since the Qumran community never controlled the operations of the actual Temple in Jerusalem.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 190–219.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 58–59.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 257–271.

Questions to Consider:

1. Could the Qumran community really have adhered to the practice of not toileting on the Sabbath?
2. If the Essenes distanced themselves from the Temple, how can we explain the presence of such an extraordinary document such as the Temple Scroll among the Dead Sea Scrolls?

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Lecture Fifteen
Daily Life at Qumran

Scope: Although the main focus of this course is the collection of documents found in the caves at Qumran, from time to time we have turned our attention to the archaeological evidence as well. If we combine these two elements, we are able to address a different question: How did the Qumran community go about its daily life? We use an integrative approach to explore such issues as the sect's daily routines, social structure, economy, farming, food production, and so on. This discussion will lead us, by necessity, to the question of women at Qumran.

Outline

I. At Qumran, Roland de Vaux identified a tower, a pottery-manufacturing area, a kitchen and pantry, a meeting hall, a scriptorium, and an elaborate system of cisterns and *miqva'ot* (ritual baths).

- **A.** Lacking were private homes and residences. This led de Vaux to see at the Qumran group living communally.
- **B.** The scriptorium and ink wells indicated that scribal activity was prominent.
- **C.** There is a path that connects the site and the caves, suggesting a true linkage between the two main foci of our course.

II. I base much of my reconstruction of daily life at Qumran on two essays from *A Day at Qumran*: "From Dawn to Dusk among the Qumran Sectarians" by Adolfo Roitman and "A Day in the Life of Hananiah Nothos: A Story" by Magen Broshi.

III. Where did the Qumran community members live?

- **A.** Tents have been proposed. Such shelters would have left little or no trace.
- **B.** Another option is that they lived in the caves, which did yield artifacts of everyday life.
- **C.** It is possible that individuals slept in the main site, perhaps in dormitory style.

IV. Both Josephus (in his description of the Essenes) and various Dead Sea Scrolls (the Community Rule, for example) speak of the community rising at dawn to recite the morning prayers. And of course we note in the Community Rule passage that evening prayer also was recited.

V. Both Philo and Josephus describe the Essenes as engaged in agricultural activities (though naturally this would be true of the vast majority of any population in ancient times). One is not surprised to find evidence for such activity at Qumran.

VI. Some members of the community engaged in the manufacture of baskets from palm fronds and reeds, textiles from wool and linen, parchment—necessary for producing the scrolls—from animal skins, and pottery vessels for ordinary cooking and food storage as well as those for storing scrolls.

VII. Plenty of coins were found at Qumran, which may suggest some contact with the outside world via trade and commerce, or it may suggest a *Yahad* treasury, accumulated when individuals joined the sect and surrendered their personal wealth.

VIII. The practice of communal meals is discussed in the Community Rule and in other scrolls.

- **A.** Josephus explains that the Essenes perform their daily labors and occupations until the fifth hour, at which point they assemble for ritual bathing and communal dining, with blessings before and after the meal.
- **B.** After this, Josephus notes, the Essenes return to their labors for the remainder of the day.

IX. Clearly studying and writing were major components of life in the Qumran community.

X. How many people lived at Qumran at any one time?

- **A.** It was a small community; the scholarly consensus is about 150–200 people at any given time.
- **B.** Researchers arrived at this number by looking at the general size of the place, the number of graves in the cemetery, the amount of food that could be produced in an out-of-the-way inhospitable climate such as this, the amount of water provided by the rain collected in the Wadi Qumran and then channeled to the water cisterns, and so on.
- **C.** We cannot know how many of the residents were men, women, or children.
- **D.** A survey of the skeletons buried nearby reveals that most of those buried there died young. This may be due to the harsh conditions.
- **E.** Most likely, as people got older, they left Qumran, unable to handle the harsh conditions, and thus returned to Jerusalem to live among the Essenes there or in other communities perhaps. This would explain the relative youth of the people buried at Qumran.

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XI. The first interpreters of the scrolls and the archaeological site of Qumran believed that the group was celibate.

- **A.** They noted, correctly, that there are no references to women in the Community Rule.
- **B.** Pliny said the Essenes whom he encountered lived without women and renounced love, and Philo and Josephus noted that some among the Essenes were celibate.
- **C.** This view has largely been discredited, however, because of references to women in the other texts, including the Damascus Document, the War Scroll, and the Messianic Rule.
- **D.** The cemetery at Qumran has also revealed some female skeletons.

XII. A unique document found at Qumran is an ostracon (inscribed piece of pottery).

- **A.** Unearthed in 1996, it was published by Frank Moore Cross and Esther Eshel.
- **B.** This text is a deed of gift, indicating the transfer of property (house, fig trees, and olive trees) of a certain Honi to the *Yahad* via an individual named Elazar ben Nahmani. We thus gain confirmation of the process indicated in the Community Rule whereby members donated their personal property to the community.
- **C.** Interestingly, the text also refers to Honi's slave, Hisdai. According to both Philo and Josephus, the Essenes did not own slaves. But we do have a reference to slaves in the Damascus Document: "A man should not provoke his male-slave or his female-slave or his hired-hand on the Sabbath."
- **D.** Unfortunately, the ostracon is badly broken, especially where the slave is mentioned, so we cannot be sure about Hisdai. Was he freed if Honi joined the sect? Was he given some responsibility for Honi's property at this stage?

XIII. It is important to remember that the sect members at Qumran were real people with real lives beyond our precious documents.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 127–143.

Suggested Reading:

Roitman, *A Day at Qumran*.

Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent should issues of daily life be important to our reconstruction of the Qumran community? Is it worth devoting an entire lecture to this subject, especially since the *Yahad*'s greatest legacy are the 930 documents they copied and authored?
2. From the evidence presented, do you believe that the Qumranites were celibate?

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Lecture Sixteen

The Halakhic Letter—Rituals Define the Sect

Scope: Discovered in Qumran Cave 4 in 1954, the Halakhic Letter was not published until 1994. This document, sometimes known by its Hebrew name *Miqsat Ma'aseh ha-Torah* ("Some Precepts of Torah"), is a treatise written by the leader of the sect that refers to 20 points of Halakah. These legal matters differentiate the sect from the addressees (understood as the Sadducees) and a third group (understood as the Pharisees). Quite astonishingly, the issues that divide the groups are relatively minor matters of Halakah and not the larger dogmatic issues (belief in angels, belief in an afterlife, and so forth) noted by Josephus.

Outline

I. The publication of the Halakhic Letter changed Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship in major ways.

- **A.** The text was found in 1954 but remained unpublished into the 1980s.
- **B.** John Strugnell, who was first assigned the scroll, was joined in his work by Elisha Qimron, who announced the letter's existence at an academic conference in Jerusalem in 1984, using "the Halakhic Letter" as its working title.
- **C.** The text was published under their joint authorship in 1994, with the scholarly designation 4QMMT based on the text's own title *Miqsat Ma'aseh ha-Torah* ("Some Precepts of Torah").
- **D.** As far as we can determine, the very existence of this scroll was known only to Strugnell for 30 years.

II. The text was the basis for a lawsuit in an Israeli court in 1993.

- **A.** Hershel Shanks of the Biblical Archaeology Society obtained a copy of the text, which he then published in *Biblical Archaeology Review*.
- **B.** Qimron sued Shanks for copyright violation and won.

III. Why is this text so important?

- **A.** Before its publication, scholars followed Josephus, assuming that the major issues that differentiated the Jewish sects of late antiquity were theological.
- **B.** This letter, however, showed that the major issues were Halakhic ones.
- **C.** Six different copies were found in Cave 4, indicating that this was a foundational text for the sect. Unfortunately, all six copies are in fragmentary condition.
- **D.** The author presents about 20 individual legal matters, which form the basis of disagreements between the sect and its opponents.
- **E.** The letter speaks about "we," "you," and "they," indicating three different groups, which scholars reconstruct, respectively, as the Essenes (that is, the Qumran community), the Sadducees (the addressees of the letter), and the Pharisees (the "they").
- **F.** Some of the issues are the same ones indicated in the Temple Scroll.

IV. The question of "continuous streams" is one of the main issues of contention featured in the letter.

- **A.** When a liquid is poured from a pure upper vessel into an impure lower vessel, the rabbis declare that both the upper vessel and its contents remain pure.
- **B.** The Halakhic Letter, on the other hand, declares both vessels and their contents impure. Again, note the economic hardship here, disposing of an entire large vessel of olive oil or wine.
- **C.** This view of impurity moving upstream as well as down is also mentioned in the Mishna as the view of the Sadducees. This suggests that there might be some ultimate link between the Qumran community (and perhaps the Essenes in general) and the Sadducees, at least in the area of Jewish law.

V. Another featured issue is the case of what the rabbis call a *tevul yom*, one who has immersed in a *miqveh* (ritual bath) during the daytime to remove his impurity, even though sunset is still some hours away. Is this person pure or impure? Must one wait the full time until sundown?

- **A.** The Halakhic Letter argues that only on sundown is one ritually pure.
- **B.** The rabbis, as we know from the Mishna, allowed such a person to be in a state between true purity and true impurity.
- **C.** This discussion demonstrates that the later rabbinic principle (from the 2nd century C.E. Mishna) was already in place in the 2nd century B.C.E.

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VI. In hindsight, scholars should have known that Halakhic differences separated the sects from one another, since such issues have been at the heart of movements throughout the history of Judaism. By and large, though, the scholars were blind to this extremely important point.

A. Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, and indeed into the 1980s, most of Dead Sea Scrolls research was in the hands of Christian scholars who were not necessarily knowledgeable about Jewish legal texts.

B. The scholars focused on the doctrinal issues that separated the sects, as outlined by Josephus, for such have been the foci of debates within Christian religious history.

C. We conclude that Josephus did not present Halakhic issues to his Greco-Roman audience because such minute practical distinctions would not have been understood by his readers.

D. Now we have confirming evidence for Josephus's comment that the Essenes were the strictest of the late antique Jewish sects.

VII. We have used the word "Halakah" throughout our course, defining it as Jewish law.

A. The word comes from the verb *halak*, which means "go," as if to say every path that one follows in life is governed by Halakah.

B. Among rabbinic texts, we had evidence for the word only from later compositions, the Mishna and the Talmud. Now from Qumran comes evidence that the word existed earlier.

VIII. Finally, we need to address an issue that has been implied in our course already but has not been stated explicitly: The Pharisees were not the only sect to survive the events of 70 C.E.

A. The Essenes apparently survived as well, for one of their key texts was still read in the 10th and 12th centuries in medieval Cairo.

B. The Sadducees may have survived as well, emerging 800 years later as the Karaites.

C. This finding forces us to examine the texts, ideas, history, and any other evidence we may have at our disposal from these sects all the more closely.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 220–228.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 59–60.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 83–89.

Suggested Reading:

Polliack, *Karaite Judaism*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Can you think of some supposedly minor or insignificant differences in our own culture that, like the Halakhic issues here, serve to separate groups, sects, denominations, or political parties?

2. How do you think the Damascus Document continued to be read and copied for more than a millennium—that is, the time span separating our different textual witnesses (the Cave 4 fragments and two Cairo genizah manuscripts)? Can you reconstruct the continued existence of the Essenes deep into the Middle Ages? Similarly, do you think there is a direct link between the Sadducees of late antiquity and the Karaites of the medieval period? Let your historical imagination guide you, as if, perhaps, you were writing a historical novel about the persistence of the Essenes and Sadducees in history, even when unattested.

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Lecture Seventeen
The Qumran Biblical Canon

Scope: In Lecture Two, we referred to one scroll that was too brittle to unroll. As time passed, scholars accomplished this task, revealing a text known as the Genesis Apocryphon (a scholarly misnomer, as we shall see). This document provides a retelling of portions of the book of Genesis, including the stories of Noah and Abraham. We will look at this document, read other retellings of biblical stories (from Exodus in particular), and discuss the presence of copies of Enoch and Jubilees among the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were written in the postbiblical period with an eye toward a total retelling of the Torah.

Outline

I. When the Qumran community was flourishing, the biblical canon had not yet been fixed.

- **A.** Clearly the Jews had canonized the Torah and the Prophets, and no doubt the Psalms were seen in the same way.
- **B.** This is indicated explicitly in one copy of the Halakhic Letter, in a reference to "the book of Moses, the books of the prophets and of David." A similar reference occurs in the Greek preface to the book of Ben Sira, composed around 130 B.C.E. It refers to the Torah, the books of the prophets, and "the others that followed."
- **C.** The remainder of the canon still was open-ended.

II. At Qumran, it seems that the books of Enoch and Jubilees were seen as canonical.

- **A.** Eleven copies of Enoch, all in Aramaic, were found in Qumran Cave 4, with a smattering of other Aramaic copies found in caves 1, 2, and 6.
  - **1.** Enoch is based on the statement in Genesis 5:24 that Enoch did not die but God simply took him. Since he is still alive, Enoch is able to tell the history of the world, including events that have yet to pass.
  - **2.** The book of Enoch dates to the 3rd century B.C.E. and thus predates the Qumran sect.
  - **3.** Eventually Enoch was translated into Greek (only fragments remain, found in Egypt) and then into Ethiopic (Geez). The Qumran manuscripts afford us four of the five parts of the book in the original Aramaic.
- **B.** Eighteen copies of the book of Jubilees, written in Hebrew, were found in a series of Qumran caves (1, 2, 3, 4, and 11).
  - **1.** Jubilees retells Genesis and Exodus 1–14, presented as a revelation by the angels to Moses while he was on Mount Sinai.
  - **2.** The text reframes the biblical narrative into a series of jubilee (50-year) periods, based on the jubilee-year system presented in Leviticus 25.
  - **3.** The book dates to the 2nd century B.C.E. and may predate the formation of the Qumran sect.
  - **4.** This work was also translated into Greek and Latin, though only fragments remain, and then into Geez. The Qumran manuscripts afford us at least some of the original Hebrew work.

III. We also find fragments of other works known from late antiquity that were previously preserved only in Greek or other ancient languages, not in their Hebrew originals.

- **A.** Tobit and Ben Sira were canonized by the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. Portions of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs were preserved by various early Christian groups but did not achieve canonical status.
- **B.** Ben Sira's Hebrew original was found in the Cairo genizah. Additional manuscripts were found at Masada, so that we now can reconstruct a large portion of the Hebrew original.
- **C.** To give a sense of how open-ended the canon was, the rabbis in the Talmud continued to cite Ben Sira as if the book were canonical.

IV. The so-called Genesis Apocryphon was among the first seven scrolls found in Cave 1. Some very tiny fragments from Cave 4 may also be Genesis Apocryphon material.

- **A.** The Cave 1 text is called 1QGenAp ar. (The "ar" means Aramaic).
- **B.** The text retells some of the Genesis stories, covering the span from Lamech (father of Noah) to Abraham.
- **C.** Among the most expansive passages is a long and detailed description of Sarah's beauty, evoking the language of the Song of Songs but based on the terse passages in Genesis 12.
- **D.** Other Dead Sea Scrolls texts also retell biblical stories, sometimes as paraphrases or in summary fashion.

V. The next text that interests us is a relatively well-preserved scroll of the book of Psalms from Cave 11, called 11QPs[a].

- **A.** Many of the canonical Psalms occur here but in a different order.

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B. Included at the end are about five additional Psalms, some of which were known previously only via Syriac translation.

C. The end of the scroll contains a passage describing the Psalms as revelation to David. In all of this we see the ever-growing David tradition, culminating in Judaism's contention that the Messiah will be an offspring of David.

VI. The Qumran community preserved a translation of the book of Job into Aramaic.

A. The only previous translation of the Bible into another language is the Septuagint, which is in Greek.

B. We know of Aramaic translations, called Targumim, produced by Jews in the centuries to follow, but this Dead Sea Scrolls rendering of Job represents our oldest such translation.

C. Interestingly, the Tosefta preserves a tradition that the famous sage Rabban Gamaliel I (1st century C.E.) once banned a translation of Job into Aramaic (Tosefta Shabbat 14:2). Could our Dead Sea Scrolls text be that version?

VII. Three of the texts referred to in this lecture were written in Aramaic: Enoch, Genesis Apocryphon, and Targum to Job. Clearly there is a pattern here.

A. Aramaic was becoming more and more the language of the Jews during this period.

B. Aramaic originated in the area of modern Syria, stretching from Damascus in the south to the Upper Euphrates River in the north.

C. It became the language of a series of empires (Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian), thereby becoming a lingua franca of the ancient world.

D. There is a debate as to when Hebrew died out as a living language. Some say as late as 300 C.E., while others believe that this had occurred already in the 1st century C.E. Jesus, for example, spoke Aramaic, as we can determine from his words in the Gospels.

E. All told, the Aramaic texts from Qumran provide linguists with an new corpus of texts by which to examine the Aramaic language as used during this period.

F. Eventually, much of both Talmudim would be written in Aramaic.

VIII. Recall that during the 1st century B.C.E., and even into the 1st century C.E., the biblical canon was not fixed.

A. Josephus mentions only 22 books in the canon, while the rabbis eventually settled on 24.

B. We know from rabbinic literature that there were debates concerning Qohelet and Song of Songs specifically. Probably Esther elicited debate as well, and apparently Ben Sira was on the margins of canonicity.

C. Thus, while all Jews agreed to the canonical status of the Torah, the Prophets, and the book of Psalms, there were differences of opinion concerning the various books mentioned here.

D. In the end, many books did not enter the normative Jewish canon as transmitted by the rabbis. But various Jewish groups clearly considered works such as Enoch, Jubilees, and Tobit to be canonical, and thus many of these works were included in the list of sacred books as organized by various early churches.

E. Fortunately, among the Dead Sea Scrolls we have early textual exemplars of these works.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 301–307, 446–447, 448–459, 507–510, 513–517.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 34–43, 142–157.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 154–205.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 181–195, 217–218.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 144–155.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why, do you think, did some Christian groups eventually canonize (or at least copy and read) books such as Enoch and Jubilees, especially if Jewish groups no longer read these compositions?
2. In what ways do you think a text such as 4Q422, a summary of the Ten Plagues narrative, may have been used, either at Qumran or among Jews elsewhere?

Lecture Eighteen
The Qumran Calendar

Scope: The Dead Sea Scrolls reveal that the Qumran community used a different calendar from other Jews at the time. The standard calendar had lunar months with necessary adjustments to the solar year, whereas the Qumran calendar was strictly solar. In practical terms, this meant that holidays mentioned in the Torah would be celebrated on different days by different Jewish groups, analogous to the different dates for Christmas and Easter in the Eastern and Western branches of Christianity. The Halakhic Letter also mentions other festivals celebrated by the sect that are unknown from other sources. We consider how these calendar differences may have affected the sectarian nature of Judaism during this period.

Outline

I. The standard Jewish calendar that has dominated for millennia is a luni-solar calendar whose origins go back to the Babylonian calendrical system.

- **A.** The annual calendar is comprised of 12 lunar months, totaling 354 days.
- **B.** Since this falls 11 days short of a solar year, and since the harvest festivals (Passover, Shavu‘ot, Sukkot) need to occur at the appropriate time of year, the calendar adds a leap month approximately once every three years.
- **C.** Since neither the 354 days of the regular year nor the 383 or 384 days of the leap year is divisible by 7, holidays fall on different days of the week, year after year.

II. An alternative calendar, based strictly on the solar cycle, developed in late antiquity.

- **A.** This system has 52 weeks, each comprised of 7 days, for a total of 364 days.
- **B.** Since 364 is divisible by 7, the holidays occur on the same day of the week each year.
- **C.** Of course, a 364-day system means that each calendrical year falls 1.25 days short of the actual solar year. We have no idea how this system compensated for the difference over time. No leap day is possible, since this would upset everything.

III. The solar calendar is reflected in the books of Enoch and Jubilees, and the Qumran community used this calendar as well.

- **A.** This explains why many Dead Sea Scrolls texts castigate the sect’s opponents for celebrating the holidays on the wrong dates.
- **B.** The most telling passage is from Pesher Habakkuk, where we learn that the Wicked Priest attacked the Teacher of Righteousness on Yom Kippur (1QpHab 11:5–8). The passage can be explained only by assuming different days for the observance of the holiest day of the year.
- **C.** Note that according to the Qumran calendar, Yom Kippur always falls on a Friday, while according to the standard system, especially as manipulated by the rabbis, Yom Kippur can never fall on a Friday.

IV. The one festival in the Torah without a specific date is Shavu‘ot, the Feast of Weeks (Leviticus 23:15–16).

- **A.** The Torah instructs one to count seven weeks from a particular day associated with Passover and thereby arrive at the festival of Shavu‘ot. Different interpretations led to different groups of Jews counting the seven weeks in different fashions.
- **B.** A plain reading of Leviticus 23:15–16 suggests that one should wait until Passover is over, then wait until the next Sabbath, and then one begins counting. This is how many ancient Jews observed this commandment, including the Qumran sect, the Boethusians, most likely the Sadducees, and then later the Karaites.
- **C.** Later rabbinic Judaism (and presumably their Pharisaic predecessors) held that one begins counting the seven weeks on the second day of Passover, thereby interpreting the word “sabbath” in Leviticus 23:15 as the first day of Passover.

V. The Qumran sect included festival days in its annual calendar that were not mentioned in the Torah.

- **A.** The Halakhic Letter begins with a calendar, laying out the weeks of the year and the holidays and mentioning a festival unknown from the Torah.
- **B.** The Temple Scroll and other texts also provide for additional festival days: the wine festival 50 days after Shavu‘ot; the oil festival 50 days after the wine festival; and the wood festival, occurring immediately following the oil festival.

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VI. All of this may sound awfully confusing and highly mathematical, but as students of calendars and time keeping have noticed, there have been innumerable systems in use by different cultures around the world throughout history.

- **A.** One can see how confusing it would have been for a single umbrella group, such as Judaism, to have different calendars operational in different subgroups.
- **B.** Some scholars have argued that this was one of the hot button issues that separated the sects.
- **C.** A strong argument in favor of this view is the presence of the Qumran calendar at the beginning of the Halakhic Letter. Some have considered the placement of the calendar here a matter of convenience; others consider the placement part of the polemic.

VII. The differences between the two calendar systems may clarify a discrepancy in the Gospels.

- **A.** According to Matthew, Mark, and Luke (what scholars call the synoptic Gospels), the Last Supper occurred on Passover. But according to John, the Last Supper occurred on the day before Passover. Could it be that the different New Testament writers were using different calendars?
- **B.** Most scholars would explain the discrepancy differently—namely, John (the last of the Gospels to be written) consciously redated the Last Supper so that Jesus would be presented to his readers as the equivalent of the Passover sacrifice, per Exodus 12:6.
- **C.** Nonetheless, it is interesting to note how a major issue in Dead Sea Scrolls research potentially could solve an issue in New Testament scholarship.

VIII. Let us discuss the meaning of the names of our three sects.

- **A.** The term "Sadducee" is derived from Zadok, the high priest of the First Temple under Solomon.
- **B.** "Pharisee" derives from a Hebrew term meaning "those who separated," or "separatist," though it is unclear to what or from what this group separated.
- **C.** The real quandary is the term "Essene," for which no convincing etymology has been suggested. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* offers no fewer than six suggested etymologies.

IX. An old theory identifying the Boethusians with the Essenes is traced to one of the most remarkable scholars of all time, Azariah dei Rossi, a true Renaissance man, a Jewish savant of 16th-century Italy.

- **A.** Dei Rossi was the first to write a critical history of the Jews in ancient times, using all available sources, including classical historians such as Herodotus and Livy and church fathers such as Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, and Clement.
- **B.** While later Jewish scholars knew of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, since both are mentioned in rabbinic texts, they had lost knowledge of the existence of the Essenes.
- **C.** "Essene" is used by Philo and Josephus in their Greek writings and by Pliny in his Latin writing, but since these texts were not read by Jews, any awareness of the Essenes was lost to Jewish readers.
- **D.** In the Renaissasnce, Christian scholars in Italy rediscovered the great Greek and Roman classics. Dei Rossi, even though he was Jewish, was part of that world. His Latin was excellent, and while his Greek was weak, he was able to read the ancient Greek writings via Latin translations.
- **E.** It was from reading Philo and Josephus—he was, perhaps, one of the first Jewish scholars to do so—that dei Rossi proposed that the Essenes described by these two ancient Jewish writers were the Boethusians mentioned in Talmudic sources.
- **F.** This opinion was mainly a curiosity for centuries until it was recently revived by Yaakov Sussman.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 301–305.

Suggested Reading:

Abegg, "The Calendar at Qumran."

Talmon, *The Importance of the Qumran Calendar in Early Judaism*.

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Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent do you think that different calendars served to separate Jewish groups in late antiquity? That is to say, if the sects had more in common with each other but still adhered to distinct calendars, could they have found common ground for dialogue and cooperation?
2. How could the *Yahad* have observed festivals not even mentioned in the Torah? On what grounds could this practice possibly be countenanced?

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Lecture Nineteen
Jewish Scholars and Qumran Ritual Practices

Scope: Among the discoveries in the Qumran caves are the oldest tefillin (phylactery) and mezuza (doorpost) texts ever found, but these texts differ from the standard tefillin and mezuza texts described in the Mishna and used by Jews to the present day. Other Jewish practices reflected in the scrolls include daily prayer and grace after meals. As with so many other aspects of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, these important discoveries extend our knowledge of particular beliefs and practices to a period centuries earlier than previously known.

Outline

I. With the passage of time in Qumran scholarship, more and more Jewish scholars became involved in primary research.

- **A.** When the international committee was established to publish the scrolls in the official Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series, Jewish scholars were excluded.
- **B.** Israeli scholars such as Yigael Yadin worked on the texts as they were published, and they continued to study anew the seven texts from Cave 1 obtained by Eliezer Sukenik and Yadin, but otherwise they could not contribute to the primary research.
- **C.** When Israel gained control of East Jerusalem in 1967, the Israeli authorities allowed the previously established committee to continue its work without interference.
- **D.** But delays in publication continued. Some were understandable, given the very fragmentary condition of the Cave 4 manuscripts, but this could not explain the exceedingly slow process of preparation and publication of the official volumes. Only a trickle of new texts were published throughout the 1970s and 1980s.
- **E.** Part of the problem was that the scholars wanted to have essentially the "final word" on their texts. They wanted to make sure that they had found every parallel variant in every possible version (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Georgian, Armenian, whatever it might be!), lest they be criticized for missing something.
- **F.** Note that none of these delays were due to pressure from the Vatican to withhold publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Such rumors abounded in popular culture, but there is no truth to them whatsoever.
- **G.** Finally, in 1991, frustrated by the lack of progress, the Israeli Antiquities Authority appointed Emanuel Tov head of the project.

II. At the same time, there were other developments in the United States.

- **A.** In September 1991, Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg announced that they had broken the lock of the international scholarly committee by using a privately distributed concordance of the scrolls.
- **B.** The Wacholder-Abegg volume was published by the Biblical Archaeology Society headed by Hershel Shanks, which also took up the campaign of agitating for the release of the entire corpus of scrolls.
- **C.** Two weeks after the appearance of the Wacholder-Abegg volume, William Moffet announced that the Huntington Library possessed a full set of photos of the scrolls and that it would allow any qualified scholar access to these photographs. In short, the cartel had been broken.

III. Back in Israel, meanwhile, Tov began to expand the official publication committee by adding younger scholars, including Jewish ones, from Israel, the United States, and elsewhere.

- **A.** Texts that had languished in the hands of older scholars for decades went to the younger scholars eager to publish them.
- **B.** By 2001, an additional 25 volumes had appeared, most devoted to the documents from Cave 4.
- **C.** In 2002, Tov published DJD 39, an introduction to the entire series with indices, marking the occasion of the publication of all the Dead Sea Scrolls.

IV. One would think that one's religious affiliation would not matter in scholarship—that scholars seek objective truth without theological or denominational bias.

- **A.** Unfortunately, such is not the case. We saw, for example, that de Vaux and his colleagues understood the Qumran community as an early celibate monastery.
- **B.** By and large, scholars of Jewish law tend to be Jews. Whereas Christian scholars paid most attention to the theological and dogmatic issues present in the scrolls, Jewish scholars paid more attention to the Halakhic material.

V. One of the most amazing finds at Qumran are 20 tiny scrolls, some with cases, that are the oldest surviving examples of tefillin.

A. The New Testament refers to these objects, worn on the head and the arm, as phylacteries, the Greek word for "amulets," or "protective devices" (Matthew 23:5), even though Jews have never considered them as such.

B. Since the word "tefillin" derives from the Hebrew word *tefilla* (prayer), perhaps it is better to refer to these items in English as prayer accoutrements.

C. The practice derives from a literal interpretation of Exodus 13:16 and Deuteronomy 6:8 and 11:18.

D. We know that the Pharisees and rabbis interpreted these biblical passages in such fashion, and now we know that the Qumran community (and perhaps all Essenes) did likewise.

E. While we do not have explicit evidence thereto, we assume that the Sadducees would have understood the passages metaphorically and therefore did not wear tefillin. This is certainly the case with the later Karaites.

F. The rabbinic tradition records different opinions as to the order of the four passages (two from Exodus, two from Deuteronomy) to be written on the separate tiny scrolls and then placed in the tefillin case. The Qumran tefillin present yet another ordering.

VI. A related phenomenon in Jewish tradition is the use of mezuza, a tiny scroll placed on the doorposts of one's house, in accordance with Deuteronomy 6:9 and 11:20.

A. The later rabbinic tradition held that a single scroll including Deuteronomy 6:4–9 and 11:13–21 is to be placed on the doorpost. But some sectarians included the Ten Commandments in their mezuza scrolls.

B. Strikingly, the Qumran mezuza texts have the Ten Commandments included.

C. Another example of such a scroll is the Nash Papyrus, found in Egypt, dated to c. 125 B.C.E., which places the Ten Commandments and the Shema prayer on a single scroll.

D. The Samaritans also take this commandment literally, though their mezuzot took the form of plaques above the doorway and also contained the Decalogue.

VII. The Qumran texts refer to the blessing of food both before and after eating, with a priest performing the task.

A. From a period several centuries later than the Dead Sea Scrolls, we possess the specific language of grace after meals as created by the rabbis. Moshe Weinfeld identified 4Q434 fragment 2 as a precursor to the rabbinic formulation, with a special focus on the expression "to eat of its fruit and of its goodness."

B. A Deuteronomy manuscript found at Qumran ($4QDeut^{n}$) includes a space between verses 8 and 9 of chapter 8. This space is not included in our later medieval biblical manuscripts, but Weinfeld was able to divine its purpose here.

1. The later rabbis decreed that only after eating bread is one required to recite the complete grace after meals. After eating other food, a much shorter prayer is recited.

2. Deuteronomy 8:8 refers to grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates; then mentions bread in verse 9; and verse 10 states, "and you shall eat and be satiated, and you shall bless the LORD your God for the good land that he has given to you." The rabbis thus deduced that the full grace after meals is required only after eating bread.

3. By placing the space between verses 8 and 9, the Qumran scribe anticipated the centuries-later rabbinic decision.

VIII. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we knew about the practices discussed in this lecture from the Mishna, dated to the early 3rd century C.E.

A. A scholarly debate arose as to whether practices mentioned in the Mishna but not specifically indicated in the Torah were innovations of the rabbis of the 2nd or 3rd century C.E. or whether the Mishna simply codified practices that had existed for centuries.

B. The evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls tilts the scales in favor of the latter opinion, which now should serve as the default position.

C. Unless we can say with certainty that the rabbis of the Mishna innovated a particular custom or ritual, we may assume that practices incorporated therein, such as the use of tefillin and grace after meals, come from centuries earlier.

IX. As Jewish scholars began to focus their work on the topics described in this lecture, the research paradigm shifted, so that the scrolls came to be seen as more connected to Judaism than to Christianity. It is for this reason that Lawrence Schiffman called his book *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

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Primary Sources and Commentary:

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 193–200.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 305–312.

Questions to Consider:

1. If you were in the position of Martin Abegg and Ben Zion Wacholder, able to produce a preliminary edition of the scrolls based on a privately circulated concordance, what would you have done: share it with the scholarly community or hold onto it privately?
2. How and why do you think rumors about the Vatican's suppression of the scrolls got started and continued to be fueled?

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Lecture Twenty
Prayers, Hymns, and the Synagogue

Scope: This lecture continues the subject of Jewish ritual as attested at Qumran, with special attention to prayer. We begin with a discussion of the synagogue, which developed as an alternative locus for the worship of God outside the context of the Temple. We note a series of references to prayer within the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, along with some actual prayer texts. We then turn to a presentation of the last of the original seven documents to be examined in this course, a lengthy collection of poetry known as the Thanksgiving Hymns, and consider their function in the community.

Outline

I. When the Temple stood in Jerusalem, it remained the locus of the worship of God via the daily animal sacrifices, with additional sacrifices on the Sabbath and festivals, as prescribed in the Torah.

- **A.** Since the Qumran sect saw the Temple as polluted and beyond repair, they sought other means for the worship of God, particularly through communal daily prayer.
- **B.** While other Jews may not have viewed the Temple in such a negative light, we also know that the synagogue was a developing institution even while the Temple still stood.
- **C.** Once the Temple was destroyed, the synagogue burgeoned even in the rabbinic tradition, as we know from archaeological discoveries dated mainly to the Byzantine period, especially in the Galilee region in northern Israel.
- **D.** Given all this, it is noteworthy that there is no synagogue found at Qumran. Most likely, the communal nature of the entire site obviated the need for one: Recall that "synagogue" means "the place of the people coming together." Presumably the Qumran sect gathered in the largest room at the site for synagogue activities.
- **E.** Also, the community as a whole, the *Yahad*, was a substitution for the Temple.
- **F.** The Damascus Document states, "Anyone who enters the house of prostration, let him not enter impure, but rather let him be washed" (CD MS B 11:21–22). This indicates that the Qumran community saw entering their house of worship (call it "synagogue" or whatever) in a state of ritual purity as akin to entering the Temple. The rabbis, however, did not see the synagogue in this light.

II. A number of Dead Sea Scroll texts refer to morning and evening prayers, no doubt in imitation of the morning and evening sacrifices performed in the Temple, along with prayers for Sabbath and festivals.

- **A.** A section near the end of the Community Rule presents the leader of the community as offering praise to God at these appointed times (1QS 10:1–6), ending with "with the offering of my lips I bless him, as a statute engraved forever."
- **B.** We have a series of texts that are clearly prayers and blessings, but unfortunately they are very fragmentary.
- **C.** A better preserved text is entitled Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, preserved in nine copies at Qumran (4Q400–407, 11Q17), with an additional fragment found at Masada, presenting the hymns recited by the angels in heaven for each of the first 13 sabbaths of the year. It is not clear whether the Qumran community recited these songs as part of their own Sabbath liturgy, but the presence of this text is significant nonetheless.

III. Of all the Qumran texts that qualify as prayers, the one on which we should focus the most attention is a document known as the Thanksgiving Hymns, or Hodayot (1QH).

- **A.** This document was one of the original seven scrolls found in Cave 1, purchased and published by Eliezer Sukenik. At 18 columns, plus dozens of fragments that need to be incorporated at different places, the Thanksgiving Hymns is one of the longest of the scrolls.
- **B.** The text presents a series of individual hymns, about 25 in number, of varying lengths, which begin with the phrase *'odekha 'adonay* ("I give thanks to you, O Lord").
- **C.** Since the single scroll was no longer intact when it reached Sukenik's hands, scholars disagree as to the ordering of the individual columns and thus the arrangement of the individual hymns.
- **D.** Only after an immersion into the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus as a whole is it possible to tease out some of the theological expressions of this document. Now that we have mastered so many of the other texts, we will be able to contextualize this document all the better.

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IV. The hymns are praises of God, and in many ways they resemble the book of Psalms.

A. Some appear to express the sentiments of the community as a whole, while others (especially hymns 1, 2, and 7–11) appear to refer to the experiences of a single individual. Some scholars have proposed that the Teacher of Righteousness is the author of the Hodayot text.

B. Many of the sect's theological points are presented in poetic terms in this collection, though many of these ideas were part of common Judaism: the Glory of God, reward of the righteous, punishment of the wicked, predetermination, and the existence of angels.

C. The reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked point once more to the dualism present in the Dead Sea Scrolls; and they also indicate a developing belief in an afterlife.

V. The Thanksgiving Hymns are centered totally on the community.

A. There is no appeal to biblical texts (such as in the Prophets) that describe the conversion of the pagans to the worship of the one God.

B. There is not a single reference to the Jerusalem Temple, which was the focus of all other Jewish groups at the time.

C. In short, on the scale of particularism and universalism, the Dead Sea Scrolls community is geared totally toward the former. The Qumran community is concerned only with itself in this document.

VI. One reads again and again how the author feels inadequate in the presence of God, referring to himself more than once as "a creature of clay."

A. But the author goes even further, describing his origins as follows: "Behold, [I have been taken] from dust [and] fashioned [from clay], from a fount of impurity and the nakedness of shame" (1QH 20:24–25).

B. Schiffman has made the very interesting observation that the expressions "fount of impurity" and "nakedness of shame" refer to the female genitalia. While typically Jewish tradition has viewed sexuality in a positive manner, these phrases, he says, suggest that "sexuality is basically an impure and undesirable feature of human existence."

VII. One is tempted to consider the possibility that the Thanksgiving Hymns were used liturgically by the Qumran community.

A. We have no real evidence of liturgical use from the document itself.

B. There is, however, an intriguing reference in Philo to the liturgy of Shavu'ot (a.k.a. Pentecost) among the Therapeutae (an Essene-like sect living in Egypt). Their leader would deliver a commentary on scripture, followed by his recitation of a hymn, at which point he invited other members of the community to recite hymns as well.

C. One could imagine the leader of the Qumran community using these hymns in a similar fashion on special occasions.

VIII. Naturally, we cannot be sure how the Hodayot scroll may have been used by the Qumran community, but once more the contents of these poems afford us an opportunity to see their unique thinking and theology at work.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 67–90, 243–300, 321–330.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 60–64.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 145–153, 289–301, 355–360.

Questions to Consider:

1. How important was the development of the synagogue to the continued existence of Judaism in antiquity?
2. Does the order of the columns (and thus the individual poems) in the Thanksgiving Hymns document really matter? Is there a substantive difference? Or is this merely a matter of scholarly curiosity?

Lecture Twenty-One
Qumran Hebrew as an Anti-Language

Scope: Qumran Hebrew includes grammatical forms unlike those found in any other variety of ancient Hebrew. What is the origin of these forms? While much debate about Qumran Hebrew swirls in scholarly circles, we follow the approach that understands this dialect as an anti-language: the sociolinguistic phenomenon of a specific group using an "in" language to distinguish its dialect from that of the "out" group—that is, the majority population. By so doing, we will realize the extent to which the Qumran sectarians attempted to distinguish themselves from the general Jewish population.

Outline

I. The specific Hebrew dialect used to write the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls is a different Hebrew register from all other Hebrew varieties known to us.

- **A.** Biblical Hebrew is divided into standard biblical Hebrew, used to compose the Torah, historical books, and prophetic books; and late biblical Hebrew, used from the time of the Exile onward (550–200 B.C.E.) to compose books such as Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Chronicles, and so forth.
- **B.** Hebrew works from the immediate postbiblical period include the book of Ben Sira (c. 180 B.C.E.), but since this work is written in poetry, with a heavy influence from the like-minded biblical book of Proverbs, we cannot use the prose continuum to the extent that we would like.
- **C.** Other works of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are in prose, but their Hebrew originals were lost in late antiquity, after which they were transmitted only in Greek and other translations.
- **D.** We have recovered some later works in Hebrew such as Jubilees (c. 175 B.C.E.), but unfortunately they are very fragmentary and do not allow a full linguistic analysis.
- **E.** Some letters written by Simon Bar-Kokhba and his contemporaries between 132 and 135 C.E. were also discovered in caves near the Dead Sea, though further south in the Ein Gedi region. These letters are written in a Hebrew with some similarities to Mishnaic Hebrew.
- **F.** The very large rabbinic corpus, especially the Mishna and the Tosefta (c. 200 C.E.), along with other elucidations of biblical material, are written in a dialect called Mishnaic Hebrew, which diverges considerably from the old biblical Hebrew standard. Most likely this dialect grew out of the everyday spoken Hebrew.
- **G.** The Qumran community refers to its opponents—most likely meaning the Pharisees—as using an inferior brand of Hebrew. But the Qumran community could not use simple biblical Hebrew either, for such was the inheritance of all Jews. They thus devised their own variety of Hebrew, with its own vocabulary and grammar.

II. Linguists refer to the phenomenon of an in-group language as "linguistic ideology" and use the expression "anti-language" to refer to the idiom developed by the in group.

- **A.** Convenient examples in English are the use of the word "queer" by the gay community to describe themselves, which otherwise could not be used by outsiders, and the very offensive word "nigger" used by African Americans among themselves but that certainly cannot be used by nonmembers of the group.
- **B.** In another example, all sorts of coded languages exist in the world of criminals, in the realm of prostitutes, and in drug culture.
- **C.** Most striking is the phenomenon noticed by those who study modern-day cults, which also tend to construct an in-group language. This is not to say that the Qumran community is akin to a modern-day cult, but the analogy may be helpful.

III. William Schniedewind adopted the linguistic ideology/anti-language approach and applied it to Qumran Hebrew. Examples of anti-language within Qumran Hebrew include the following.

- **A.** The use of the word "*Yahad*," typically rendered "community," as the group's self-designation.
- **B.** Archaisms and pseudo-archaisms that give a patina of antiquity—and thus authority—to their literature.
- **C.** Most strikingly, the dialect is relatively devoid of loanwords, in stark contrast to late biblical Hebrew, which is filled with words borrowed from Aramaic, Persian, and even (in the case of the book of Daniel) Greek.
- **D.** Finally, there is the very strange Qumran Hebrew usage of adding *-a* to pronoun forms.

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IV. Earlier in our course, we noted that some of the biblical manuscripts, most famously 1QIsa[a], are linguistically updated, somewhat akin to seeing an updated Shakespeare play.

A. Mainly this means that the Qumran scribes introduced late biblical Hebrew features into a text written in standard biblical Hebrew.

B. But it also means that they introduced their own unique anti-language usages into the biblical text, such as the pronoun forms ending in *-a* mentioned above.

V. There is one feature of Qumran Hebrew that does occur elsewhere—namely, the unusual second-person masculine plural pronoun *'attema*, along with the corresponding possessive form *kimma*—that is, "your" (masculine plural). These forms are attested not only at Qumran but in Samaritan Hebrew.

A. Could Samaratians too have engaged in an anti-language usage to distinguish themselves from general Judaism?

B. As with so many questions that we raise in this course, there is no definitive answer.

Suggested Reading:

Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Rendsburg, "Language at Qumran."

Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage."

Weitzman, "Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?"

Questions to Consider:

1. Do you think that the anti-language approach to Qumran Hebrew is valid? Are any other explanations possible?

2. Can you think of other instances of linguistic ideology within English or any other language you may know? Can you think of specific lexical or grammatical usages that may point in this direction?

Lecture Twenty-Two
The Enigma of the Copper Scroll

Scope: The Copper Scroll is the most unusual text discovered in the Qumran caves. As its name implies, the Hebrew text is incised on copper sheets rolled together. The Copper Scroll's contents provide a veritable treasure map that could guide the reader (with obscure hints, as is usually the case in such texts) to vast amounts of gold, silver, and other precious commodities. Are the contents described here real? Did the Qumran community really own such wealth? Or does the text have nothing to do with the Qumran community? These and many other interpretations of this fascinating document will be discussed.

Outline

I. In earlier lectures, we have mentioned the Copper Scroll (3Q15). As its name implies, this text, which was found in Cave 3 in 1952, consists of 12 columns incised on sheets of copper rolled together.

- **A.** The text actually was found as two separate rolls, each one badly corroded, so that they could not be unrolled.
- **B.** In 1956, the Jordanian authorities sent the two sections to the laboratory of Professor H. Wright Baker. Within the course of months, Baker cut the metal into strips so that the entire text was revealed, and he then returned the document to Jordan.
- **C.** On inspection by competent scholars, it was realized (as had already been suspected) that the two sections comprised a single scroll.
- **D.** The Copper Scroll is one of the few documents not housed in Jerusalem but rather in the Amman Archaeological Museum in Jordan, where it is contained in a specially constructed glass cabinet.

II. The text of the Copper Scroll lists, typically in coded language, 64 hiding places in Jerusalem and elsewhere in which are to be found huge amounts of gold, silver, vessels, scrolls, and more. The 64th and final hiding place informs us where another copy of this scroll is to be found.

III. On occasion the text presents Greek letters, though always as abbreviations of a sort. What are these? Just one more riddle within our larger enigma.

IV. The amounts of gold and silver listed are extraordinary.

- **A.** According to one reckoning, it lists 1,300 talents of gold, 65 bars of gold, 3,000 talents of silver, 608 pitchers of silver, and 619 assorted gold and silver vessels.
- **B.** To translate these amounts into their modern equivalents (using approximately 60 lb. per talent), one reaches an estimate of 26 tons of gold and 65 tons of silver.
- **C.** By way of comparison, we note that the famous gold coffin of King Tutankhamun weighs about 240 lbs. and his gold mask weighs about 24 lbs.—paltry sums in comparison!

V. The questions that scholars ask are whether the treasure is real, and if so, did it belong to the Qumran community or to another entity, such as the Jerusalem Temple.

- **A.** It is easy to conclude, given the huge amounts of gold and silver, that the treasure is imaginary. With the passage of time, however, more and more scholars have come to believe that the treasure is real.
- **B.** Among other arguments, scholars say that, if the treasure were fictional, no one would have taken the great time and effort to incise it on copper.
- **C.** The argument that the treasure belongs to the Qumran community is based on the Copper Scroll's discovery in the Qumran caves. But virtually none of the other 14 texts found in Cave 3 can be considered truly "sectually explicit."
- **D.** The argument that treasures belong to the Jerusalem Temple is based on the treasure's size; after all, only as large and wealthy an institution as the Temple could have amassed this much gold and silver.
- **E.** Presumably, Temple officials hid these materials and then composed the enigmatic text, which they stashed in Qumran Cave 3. The treasures are items collected for a planned rebuilding of the Temple some time after its destruction in 70 C.E.
- **F.** Alternatively, the gold and silver may have been the hidden treasures of the Bar Kokhba rebels from the Second Revolt against Rome in 132–135 C.E.
- **G.** The language of the Copper Scroll does not match the Hebrew dialect used in the other Dead Sea Scrolls. Instead, it approximates Mishnaic Hebrew. The same is true of the Bar Kokhba documents that we possess.

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H. However, the language of the Halakhic Letter also diverges from general Qumran Hebrew and has some features in common with Mishnaic Hebrew, though its Halakhic positions clearly belong to the Qumran sect.

I. Unlike other Qumran documents, the Copper Scroll uses Greek terms rather liberally. Does the presence of so many Greek words in our text separate this document from the general Qumran corpus? Again, another question without a secure answer.

VI. Several individuals have explored the Judean desert, starting with the caves at Qumran and fanning out in different directions, in an effort to locate the treasure listed in the Copper Scroll.

A. The first such person was John Allegro, a controversial figure in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. He was a member of the original international team, and in fact he was the only scholar to publish the texts assigned to him with alacrity.

B. But then he did the unthinkable: Somehow, he obtained a copy of the text of the Copper Scroll and published an edition of the document two years in advance of Milik's official publication in 1960.

C. Allegro then spent several seasons exploring the Judean desert, hoping to find the treasures, though to no avail.

D. Pesah Bar-Adon and Vendyl Jones also have explored the area, with some success at finding objects from the general time period, though clearly these relatively meager finds do not come close to the amounts of gold, silver, and objects listed in the Copper Scroll.

E. How did anyone know where to begin to look? One distinctive cave is mentioned in the scroll, and thus these explorers have looked for a cave with two openings that might have a natural pillar or column as a marker.

F. But just to show you how complex the whole problem might be, another hiding place mentions a Mount Gerizin (3Q15 12:4). Is this the Mount Gerizim of the Samaritans, about 65 kilometers north of Jerusalem, or another mountain with the same or similar name in the region of Jericho and Qumran?

VII. Let us digress for a moment to discuss how interested and educated lay people can best read and study the Dead Sea Scroll texts on their own.

A. Geza Vermes's *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* includes a 90-page introduction and an English translation of all the texts, with each document introduced in a lucid manner by the editor.

B. For readers of Hebrew, I would recommend the two-volume set by Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert Tigchelaar, entitled *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, with the Hebrew (or Aramaic) original and the English translation on facing pages as easy to use and clearly presented.

C. The Discoveries of the Judean Desert series is the for the scholar only. Volumes are to be found mainly in major research libraries, and the entire set of 40 large folio volumes costs several thousand dollars. But I invite you to visit a library near you that has this set in its collection to get a flavor of how scholars go about the task of presenting these ancient texts to the academic community.

D. The *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*, prepared by the Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship at Brigham Young University and edited by Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University, is a computer program that includes every single nonbiblical scroll with the both the Hebrew (or Aramaic) originals and English translations and the photographs as well. Best of all, the program is fully searchable and includes a concordance of all the texts.

E. To read more about the texts and their significance, I would recommend Lawrence Schiffman's *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, along with a shorter, more concise, and superb introduction by James VanderKam called *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*.

VIII. The possible connection of the Copper Scroll to the Bar Kokhba rebellion, and the exploration in the caves by serious scholars (and adventure seekers) looking for these treasures leads us to a tangential discussion.

A. Early in our course, I mentioned that scholars combed all the caves in the Qumran area, with 11 yielding scrolls and others yielding material remains.

B. Scholars explored areas more removed from Qumran as well, and in fact met with success in two main places, both near Ein Gedi: Wadi Murabaʻat, to the north of Ein Gedi, and Nahal Hever, to the south of Ein Gedi.

C. The documents found in these caves relate to the Bar Kokhba rebellion. From both sites we have letters written by Simeon Bar Kokhba himself. These texts, as precious to us as the Dead Sea Scrolls, provide yet another window into Jewish religious life during the Roman period.

D. Are there still more texts awaiting discovery? Many scholars believe so.

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Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 583–589.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 68–69.

Shanks, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Forty Years*, 41–55.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 397–399, 404–409.

Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 156–159.

Wolters, *The Copper Scroll*.

Suggested Reading:

Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Of all the possible scholarly opinions concerning the Copper Scroll, which do you think is the most likely?
2. Do you think it is worth the effort to explore the general region, with the goal of decoding the clues in the treasure map, to find these objects?

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Lecture Twenty-Three
Connections to Christianity

Scope: What was the relationship between the Qumran community and the early Christian movement? There are many links, most prominently their communal and apocalyptic aspects. But there is one single—and extremely important—distinction between the two groups: Whereas the Qumran community presents the strictest interpretation of Halakah at every instance, the early Christian community relaxed Jewish law to the utmost. The recently discovered Vision of Gabriel text, inscribed on a stone slab, includes the passage "in three days you will live." This striking phrase leads us to further explorations into the nexus between the Qumran sectarians and the New Testament authors.

Outline

I. Throughout our course, we have mentioned various connections between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, or rather between the Qumran community and the early Christian community. In this lecture, we take a more systematic approach to this subject.

II. First, however, we refer to (but do not adopt) the theories of some scholars that there is a direct linkage between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.

- **A.** Robert Eisenman believes that many if not most of the scrolls date to the 1st century C.E. In addition to positing Zealot connections, he identifies James the Just, the brother of Jesus, as the Teacher of Righteousness referred to in Pesher Habakkuk and other documents. In his opinion, the scrolls have a very direct link to early Christianity.
- **B.** Barbara Theiring also believes that the scrolls originate in the 1st century with specific connections to early Christianity, though she goes even further by claiming that the Teacher of Righteousness is John the Baptist and that the Wicked Priest is Jesus.
- **C.** Jose O'Callaghan believed that 7Q5, written in Greek, is a copy of Mark 6:52–53, thus connecting at least one of the scrolls very directly to the New Testament. However, the only complete word in this tiny Greek fragment is the word *kai* ("and"), from which one cannot build an entire theory.
- **D.** A more recent theory is the interpretation of 4Q285, a fragmentary text, by Michael Wise and Robert Eisenman. These scholars read a particular passage to refer to a "pierced Messiah"; all other scholars, however, argue that their understanding of the grammar is totally wrong, that if anything the text refers to a "piercing Messiah."

III. Before proceeding, we take note of the scholarly view developed in the 19th century by the great French savant Ernst Renan, who in his book *Vie de Jésus* ("Life of Jesus") traced connections between the Essenes and early Christianity.

- **A.** This work appeared long before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and indeed before the discovery of the Damascus Document in the Cairo genizah in 1896.
- **B.** We also mention, in passing, that the great Albert Schweitzer was highly critical of Renan's book. To Schweitzer's mind, the attempt to place the historical Jesus within the context of ancient Judaism was misguided.
- **C.** Schweitzer's critique of Renan won the day, and the "quest for the historical Jesus" movement came to a halt until it later in the 20th century.

IV. Renan's approach received a new life with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

- **A.** Eliezer Sukenik and André Dupont-Sommer saw Essene connections to the scrolls at a very early stage in scrolls research.
- **B.** Roland de Vaux and his colleagues understood the Qumran community as a precursor to early Christian (and even medieval Christian) groups.
- **C.** A transitive triangular relationship developed that began to see the Essenes, the Qumran community, and early Christians as an interrelated entity.

V. Let us look at the issue of celibacy in greater detail.

- **A.** The majority view, including the position taken in this course, holds that the Qumran community was an Essene group. And since some of the Essenes were celibate (according to Philo, Josephus, and Pliny), and since celibacy entered Christianity at an early stage, there may be a connection here.
- **B.** On the other hand, we note that the New Testament does not promote celibacy per se. The concept of a celibate priesthood arose at a later time in the Roman Catholic Church.

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C. A copy of the Community Rule published in 1958 by two Jesuit scholars, Father P. Boccaccio and Father G. Berardi, uses the word "*regula*" to describe this important Qumran text—a clear attempt to see in the Community Rule as the first monastic rule for a (presumably) celibate community.

VI. None of this, however, denies the fact that there are true links between the ideas expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls, dated mainly to the 1st century B.C.E., and ideas expressed in the New Testament, dated to the 1st century C.E.

A. The Qumran community saw biblical texts, especially the prophets, as speaking not in their historical setting centuries earlier but for the present. This method of interpretation is found throughout the New Testament as well.

B. Both the Qumran sect and the early Christians used Habakkuk 2:4 as a key passage in their theology of a single individual (the Teacher and Jesus, respectively) through whom faith is to be directed, as opposed to individuals addressing their worship directly to God.

C. The expression "sons of light" is a key term in the War Scroll, one of the sect's self-designations. The same term appears in the New Testament in John 12:38 and 1 Thessalonians 5:5.

D. The Damascus Document castigates the sect's opponents (Pharisees, apparently) who are "caught in two, fornication, by taking two wives during their lifetime" (CD MS A 4:20–21)—that is, practicing polygamy. But is also possible that the Damascus Document goes further and prohibits divorce as well.

E. The best represented of the biblical books among the Qumran manuscripts are Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah (with 34, 27, and 24 copies, respectively). These are also the most cited books in the New Testament.

F. The Qumran sectarians viewed the Temple Scroll as a book of revealed scripture, which means that they saw revelation continuing in their day; the same holds in the New Testament, where revelation is seen as an ongoing process.

G. Communal life (including communal meals and communal property) is a distinctive feature of both Qumran society and the early Christian community.

H. Baptism, or ritual immersion, plays a key role in the Community Rule and in the New Testament. Whereas all Jews practiced ritual immersion in antiquity for the removal of ritual impurity, these two sectarian sources present something new: immersion as initiation rite.

I. A negative view of sexuality, as seen in the Thanksgiving Hymns, is also expressed in early Christian writings.

J. The Qumran community leader was known as the *mevaqqer* ("overseer"). This Hebrew term is the exact equivalent of the Greek term *episkopos*, from which our English word "bishop" is derived. As far as we can determine, no other Jewish group of late antiquity had such an official supervising its activities.

K. While all Jewish groups held to some kind of eschatological view, only in the Dead Sea Scrolls (especially the War Scroll) and in the New Testament do we see an apocalyptic view expressed. One particularly notes the cataclysmic battle described both in the War Scroll and in Revelation.

VII. Through what method might the two groups have such similar ideas? One theory, promoted especially by Otto Betz, holds that John the Baptist had contact with the Qumran community.

A. Mark 1:4–6 and Matthew 3:1–6 present John the Baptist living in the desert region of Judah, baptizing people in the Jordan River, and living on locusts and wild honey.

B. The geography implies that this is the lower Jordan Valley, not far from Qumran.

C. In the next verse in the Matthew passage (3:7), John castigates the Pharisees and Sadducees, which is the same attitude that pervades the Dead Sea Scrolls.

D. While the vast majority of the scrolls come from a period a century earlier than John the Baptist, one recalls from Pliny that the Essene community was still resident in the area (if not Qumran specifically) well into the 1st century C.E.

VIII. Notwithstanding all these similarities, we need to mention three crucial differences between these sects.

A. The Christian movement was much more focused on the Messiah figure than is the Dead Sea Scrolls sect.

B. The Qumran community was intensely insular; the Jesus movement had a very active outreach program.

C. Most importantly, time and again the Dead Sea Scrolls sect applied the strictest interpretation to Halakah; by contrast, the mainstream of the Christian movement relaxed Jewish law as much as possible.

IX. While the Dead Sea Scrolls provide valuable information about the background of Christianity, it would be a mistake to view the Qumran community as the forerunner to the Jesus movement.

A. Obviously Christianity sprang from Judaism, and indeed from a specific apocalyptic movement within Judaism.

B. Perhaps we can word the situation this way: The scrolls provide a window into a Jewish sect much like the one that would emerge as the Jesus movement—parallel streams with much in common, though with important differences.

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X. In 2007, a new inscription—not on parchment and not in a cave, but rather on a slab of stone—was made public. It is called the Vision of Gabriel, though the term Dead Sea Stone also has been used, and it dates to the 1st century B.C.E.

A. While the details of its discovery are not known, apparently it was discovered around the year 2000, found its way to a Jordanian antiquities dealer, and was sold to a private collector. The collector was unaware of the significance of the object until a visitor to his collection read the inscribed words, at least as best as possible.

B. The text is ink on stone, a rare medium, since usually one incises letters into the stone. The ink is very faded, so it is hard to read the entire inscription. The stone stands about one meter high, and the inscription comprises 87 lines in Hebrew.

C. The best paleographer of Hebrew in the world, Ada Yardeni, has authenticated the inscription.

D. The text is known as the Vision of Gabriel because the angel Gabriel conveys an apocalyptic vision, or perhaps better a series of visions.

E. The sense we get from the text is that an enemy nearly destroyed the "sons of the holy," but now their leader, the "prince of princes," will arise and overcome the adversary. Much of this, of course, sounds like phraseology known from the New Testament.

XI. In short, wherever one turns, one finds connections between the scrolls (and now the Dead Sea Stone) and the books of the New Testament.

A. The Qumran sect and the Jesus movement were parallel streams, each with its own apocalyptic vision, against the backdrop of the Roman Empire and the panoply of Judaisms under the umbrella of common Judaism.

B. The one group had little or no continuity, while the other group spawned the largest religious movement in the history of the world.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 187–189.

VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 159–184.

VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 321–377.

Shanks, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Forty Years*, 18–38.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 121–123, 344–347.

Suggested Reading:

Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*.

Charlesworth, *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*.

Knohl, "The Messiah Son of Joseph."

Rendsburg, "Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription."

Yardeni, "A New Dead Sea Scroll in Stone?"

Questions to Consider:

1. Do you think we too quickly dismiss the views of Eisenman, Theiring, and O'Callaghan concerning direct connections between the Qumran sect and the Jesus movement?
2. If the Vision of Gabriel inscription was not recognized until 2007, what other discoveries may await scholarly detection in private collections?

Lecture Twenty-Four
Scroll Fragments and a New View of Judaism

Scope: Before we summarize the course, let us take the opportunity to read a few more Dead Sea Scrolls to gain a fuller flavor of the documents. We consider again what happened to the sects in the period after 70 C.E. We see how, quite unexpectedly, some Qumran ideas eventually were incorporated into the Pharisaic system, appearing in the Mishna and the Talmud as minority opinions. We recall the continuation of Essene ideas into the Middle Ages via the Damascus Document, and we note the Sadducee-Karaite connection once more. We bring our narrative up to date by describing the Karaite community still in existence in the 21st century. Finally, we address some lessons for today, including the difference between sectarianism and religious pluralism.

Outline

I. Like most professors, perhaps, I have a series of cartoons on my office door and walls. One shows a bunch of New York sophisticates enjoying a light repast; one of the women in the group says, "Who could have imagined that such a wonderful recipe for brownies would be hidden away in the Dead Sea Scrolls?"

- **A.** It was published in October 1991, in the midst of the release of the scrolls to the public.
- **B.** We did not uncover any delicious brownie recipes in our study of the scrolls, but we have learned a lot, and there is much more to learn.
- **C.** In this course, we have examined maybe three dozen documents out of the 930 that emerged from Qumran caves 1–11, focusing on the longest scrolls.
- **D.** We have skipped many more, primarily because they are so fragmentary.
- **E.** Most of these fragments come from Cave 4, and some are merely scraps, though even with these some context can be teased out.

II. Let us spend some time at least looking at three fragmentary texts. I have selected these three because each demonstrates an important point, as we continue, even here in our last lecture, to learn more about the Qumran community.

- **A.** The first text is a blessing for King Jonathan, one of only a handful of instances where we get a reference to a real person in the scrolls. The obvious question is, who is King Jonathan?
  - **1.** Esther and Hanan Eshel believe it refers to the Hasmonean monarch Alexander Janneus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.), whose name appears as "Jonathan" on some coins.
  - **2.** The text may be a nonsectarian prayer in praise of the monarch. But we know from Josephus that Alexander Janneus was hostile to the Pharisees, and that alone may have been reason for the *Yahad* in particular to pray for the king's welfare.
  - **3.** The second option is offered by Geza Vermes, who identifies him as Jonathan Maccabee (161–143 B.C.E.), an earlier Hasmonean monarch, who was seen as a liberator of Jerusalem, as the Maccabees continued to drive the Seleucids from the region.
  - **4.** Again, if this is a sectarian text, perhaps the Qumran sect heralded Jonathan Maccabee for this achievement, even though things later turned bad.
  - **5.** Even when we have a royal name attested in our documents, Qumran scholarship can be quite difficult. No text is simple!
- **B.** The second text is known as the Florilegium, a technical word that is a synonym for anthology. It is like a *pesher* text, except that a *pesher* proceeds verse-by-verse through a biblical book, whereas the Florilegium garners verses from throughout the Bible.
  - **1.** The common theme here appears to be the end of days (Hebrew *'aharit ha-yamim*), since we get references to the Temple that is to be built in the end of days, the end of the dominion of Belial, a figure known as the Shoot of David, and so forth.
  - **2.** The one passage to highlight is proof that the *Yahad* served as the replacement or surrogate for the Temple. The humans who comprise the community are called in themselves a *miqdaš*, a holy place, a sanctuary, a temple.
- **C.** The third text is 4Q159/4Q513–514, called Ordinances. Together these passages comprise a commentary on certain biblical laws.
  - **1.** Exodus 30:11–16 contains a biblical commandment that each Israelite age 20 and up is to donate a half shekel of silver for the upkeep and maintenance of the Tabernacle. But is this a single one-time contribution or an annual levy?
  - **2.** The main Jewish tradition calls for an annual contribution. But in Ordinances, we read, "He should give it only one time in all his days."

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3. A once-in-a-lifetime contribution allows one to fulfill the biblical command but allows the *Yahad* to withhold support for the Temple in Jerusalem on an ongoing, annual basis.

III. At several junctures in our course, we discussed what happened to the sects.

A. In the main, the Sadducees and the Essenes disappeared from the landscape.

B. In some way, eventually the Pharisaic/rabbinic system emerged as the dominant system.

C. Some sectarian ideas, however, flowed into the rabbinic stream. The Mishna and the Talmudim often contain minority legal opinions, some of which are legal stances present in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

D. It is clear that the Pharisees did not see their continuation as a defeat of the other sects. Quite the contrary, it appears that the Pharisees and their rabbinic successors saw room for the inclusion of their earlier competitors in the new post-Temple world.

IV. At this point, I want to present what I consider the major takeaway points of our course.

A. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we would have understood the rabbis as very strict interpreters of Jewish law. One now realizes how much stricter the Qumran sect was in its interpretation of Jewish law.

B. Approximately 1,000 years separated the Qumran copies of the Damascus Document and the two medieval copies of this text. The persistence of the Damascus Document into the Middle Ages opens up the possibility for some continuation of the Sadducee tradition throughout the golden age of the rabbinic literature.

C. In light of our research, we can no longer speak of the rabbinic tradition as the normative one in Judaism. In fact, the scrolls lead us to conclude that there never was a normative position in Judaism during the period under discussion, and perhaps not for centuries afterward. This is a major paradigm shift in the study of ancient Judaism.

D. Turning one last time to Christianity, we emphasize again that many of the ideas and beliefs of the Qumran community appear in the Jesus movement as well. The Christian religion would follow its own course, but its indebtedness to Judaism, specifically of the Qumran type, is realized more and more.

V. And now an admission: You may have gained the sense during our course that sometimes I hold that the rabbis emerged as the normative, mainstream construct within Judaism, while at other times I have emphasized that we cannot speak of a normative, mainstream anything for the period under consideration.

A. Except for a few scholars on either side, most scholars today are hesitant to surrender the long-held belief of rabbinic normativity, even with evidence such as we have presented in this course.

B. The main issue before us is that we have been trained to read history, philosophy, theology, and more only through the eyes of the rabbis. In the end, as so often happens in the study of antiquity, we simply do not have sufficient evidence to fully resolve this scholarly debate, and thus our questions remain.

VI. Finally, we consider a rabbinic tradition concerning the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.

A. Looking back on the event at some distance, the rabbis asked, why did this happen? And their response was *sinnat hinnam* ("senseless hatred"). Only after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls did we come to realize this statement's truth and its import.

B. When the Qumran sectarians call themselves the "sons of light" and include other Jews in the category of the "sons of darkness," we see the enmity between the different groups.

C. When we realize that a Jerusalem priest (the so-called Wicked Priest) attacked the Qumran group's leader (the Teacher of Righteousness) on Yom Kippur, we again see the internecine hatred that existed.

D. When we realize that the Halakhic Letter needs to demonstrate the priority of the sect's legal positions to the total exclusion of the other approaches, we see the sect's inability to embrace other approaches.

E. It may not be an exaggeration to see the Qumran community as a besieged group, one at odds with its more powerful Pharisee and Sadducee opponents, with a need to fight back with wrathful, even vengeful, words.

F. The Essenes opposed the Pharisees mainly on religious-Halakhic grounds, and they opposed the Sadducees mainly on religious-political grounds. The debates were not calm and collected, but rather replete with animosity and acrimony—"senseless hatred."

G. Even the New Testament books participate in this trend, with their very negative portrayal of the Pharisees especially.

H. The main lesson that we can extract from our study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and from this entire period of Jewish history is that Judaism at this time was ripe with vitriolic sectarianism.

I. Let us stray far from this approach and follow a path of religious pluralism. Let us recognize our denominational differences but embrace them all as valid and appropriate ways to lead our lives, both our own lives and those of our neighbors.

Primary Sources and Commentary:

Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 331–332, 493–494, 497–499.

Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239–240.

Questions to Consider:

1. How much of a fragmentary text do you think is necessary for a scholar to be able to gain a general sense of its contents? A few words? A few (broken) sentences? Half a column? Consider a parallel: a torn newspaper page, with only parts of lines and columns legible.
2. Are there any other takeaway points from our course that come to mind that we did not cover in this lecture?

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The Dead Sea Scrolls—An Overview

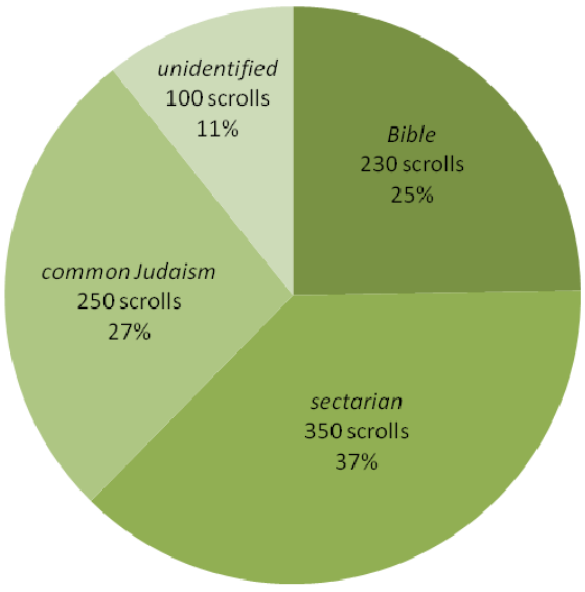
I. The chart below divides the documents by place of discovery, per cave or other location. Over 70 percent of the documents emerged from a single cave, Cave 4.

Place of discovery	Number of documents	Additional information
Cave 1	82	
Cave 2	33	
Cave 3	18	These include the Copper Scroll.
Cave 4	605	
Cave 5	25	
Cave 6	31	
Cave 7	19	All in Greek.
Cave 8	5	
Cave 9	1	A papyrus fragment.
Cave 10	1	An ostracon.
Cave 11	30	
Khirbet Qumran	3	All ostraca.
Cairo genizah	2	Damascus Document manuscripts.
Unprovenanced	1	The Vision of Gabriel stone.
Total	**856**	

Adapted from Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 601–619, and Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

Note that the total depends on how scholars count the extremely fragmentary scraps: Are they part of another document, or do they represent their own document? To give a sense of how difficult the classification and categorization can be, note that of the approximately 420 nonbiblical manuscripts from Cave 4, only about 120 of them have a continuous block of text comprising several sentences or more, while about 300 of them are so fragmentary that they include only an occasional complete sentence, if that.

II. Indeed, according to another counting system, which treats more of the many small fragments as distinct documents, the 11 caves at Qumran yielded 930 individual documents (see the figure below). They may be categorized as follows: (a) biblical texts; (b) texts belonging to common Judaism—that is, other texts that all Jews would have read, regardless of their sectarian affiliation; and (c) sectarian documents unique to Qumran. Roughly 100 of the 930 documents are too fragmentary to categorize.



Adapted from Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 34.

The biblical scrolls are overwhelmingly in Hebrew, since the biblical books themselves are overwhelmingly in Hebrew (with only portions of Daniel and Ezra in Aramaic). Of the nonbiblical scrolls, 80 percent (560 scrolls) are in Hebrew, 17 percent (120 scrolls) are in Aramaic, and 3 percent (20 scrolls) are in Greek. Most of the scrolls were written on parchment, which was both readily available and durable, but 100 of the documents, all fragmentary, were written on more fragile papyrus that would have come from Egypt.

III. We further explicate the tripartite division of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus into biblical manuscripts, texts belonging to common Judaism, and sectarian documents tied specifically to the Qumran group (we naturally exclude the unidentified texts) with the following comments.

A. Biblical manuscripts.
Biblical scrolls from Qumran represent the oldest manuscripts of the Bible in our possession. At least one copy of every book of the Bible (save Esther) is attested at Qumran—with Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah the best attested. The following chart presents the number of manuscripts per book of the Bible.

- The order follows the Jewish canon, with 24 books counted.
- Only manuscripts identified with certainty are counted.
- Eleven additional fragments contain phrases that appear in more than one book of the Bible; they are considered biblical manuscripts, though due to their extremely fragmentary nature we cannot identify the specific book.
- The only complete biblical manuscript is 1QIsa[a], which presents all 66 chapters of the book of Isaiah (see the inventory below). All other biblical books are attested in incomplete fashion.

Book	Number of manuscripts
Torah	
Genesis	15
Exodus	18
Leviticus	17
Numbers	12
Deuteronomy	31
Total	**93**
Former Prophets	
Joshua	2
Judges	3
1–2 Samuel	4
1–2 Kings	3
Total	**12**
Latter Prophets	
Isaiah	22
Jeremiah	6
Ezekiel	7
The 12 Minor Prophets	10
Total	**45**

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Writings	
Psalms	39
Proverbs	2
Job	4
Song of Songs	4
Ruth	4
Lamentations	4
Qohelet (Ecclesiastes)	2
Esther	0
Daniel	8
Ezra-Nehemiah	1
1–2 Chronicles	1
Total	**69**
Grand total	**219**

Adapted from Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 163.

B. Texts belonging to common Judaism (extrabiblical texts).

These compositions include works that were canonized by various Christian communities (Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Ethiopic, etc.) but not by Judaism. They fall into categories known as the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. These texts were transmitted by Christians in Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and other languages. The Qumran discoveries now afford us portions of the Hebrew or Aramaic originals of these ancient Jewish texts, though in the case of Ben Sira, manuscripts were previously discovered in the Cairo genizah during the 1890s. In general, these texts belong to the common Judaism category above, though some of these documents, such as Enoch and Jubilees, clearly resonated more with the Qumran sect than they did with other Jews of late antiquity.

C. Sectarian documents.

These documents represent the literary output of the Qumran sect. An occasional text in this list (e.g., Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice) may have been read by other Jews as well (as part of common Judaism), but by and large, a coherent picture of the sectarian beliefs and practices emerges from these documents. Note that the major Cave 1 manuscripts are typically known by title, not by number.

D. Unique texts.

These texts are unique both because of the manner of writing and inscription (that is, not ink on parchment, as is typical of the scrolls) and because of their subject matter. The text of the Copper Scroll, for example, is incised into copper sheets, while the content describes enormous sums of gold and silver hidden in several dozen hiding places—in fact, it is not even clear if this document has any relationship to the Qumran sect. Similarly, the ostraca are ink on clay, while the Vision of Gabriel text is ink on stone.

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IV. Here is an inventory of the Dead Sea Scrolls documents studied in our course. We begin with a few notes.

- The recommended English translation for this course is Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Penguin, 1997). The translation portion of the Vermes book makes up pages 97–597, and the eight longest (virtually complete) scrolls total 201 of the 501 pages in that book. More fragmentary texts read in this course, whether in detail or in passing, amount to another approximately 100 pages. Thus the manuscripts below, though not a complete listing, are about 60% of all Dead Sea Scrolls material.
- For the longer sectarian scrolls, in an attempt to give the reader a sense of their length, the number of columns is indicated. For those where it is not noted, the manuscripts are fragmentary and typically amount to no more than one or two columns.
- This inventory does not include those Dead Sea Scrolls whose titles were mentioned in passing in Lecture Twenty-Four.
- The texts are cited according to the scholarly system of accounting for Qumran documents.
  - For example, 1QIsa^{a} means that this manuscript was found in Qumran Cave 1 (1Q), that this is a copy of the biblical book of Isaiah (Isa), and that this is the first Isaiah copy from Cave 1 (^{a}), implying that there is a second such manuscript, which indeed is the case, called 1QIsa^{b}.
  - In the case of nonbiblical texts, the siglum typically includes a number as well: For example, 4Q163 is an alternate designation for 4QpIsa^{c}, which means that this was the 163rd text to be cataloged from Cave 4 and that this text is identified as a third copy of Pesher Isaiah from said cave.

A. Biblical manuscripts.

1QIsa^{a}	Complete Isaiah scroll—that is, all 66 chapters—reflecting a linguistic updating of the Masoretic Text. One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
1QIsa^{b}	Partial Isaiah scroll that preserves portions of chapters 10–66 but is very fragmentary; at times, entire chapters are missing. Conforms very closely to the later medieval manuscripts subsumed under the rubric of Masoretic Text. One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
4QExod^{a} (4Q1)	More properly 4QGen-Exod^{a}, since the manuscript includes portions of both Genesis and Exodus. The text reads 75 at Exodus 1:5 (as does the Septuagint), in contrast to the Masoretic Text, which reads 70.
4QDeut^{j} (4Q37)	Includes various passages from Deuteronomy (along with Exodus 12:43–13:5) and reads *bene 'el* ("sons of God") in Deuteronomy 32:8, in contrast to the Masoretic Text's "children of Israel." *See also* 4QDeut^{q}.
4QDeut^{n} (4Q41)	Includes sections of Deuteronomy; presents white space between verses 8:8 and 8:9, which is not the case in the Masoretic Text.
4QDeut^{q} (4Q44)	Includes portions of Deuteronomy 32 and reads *bene 'el* ("sons of God") in Deuteronomy 32:8, in contrast to the Masoretic Text's "children of Israel." *See also* 4QDeut^{j}.
4QSam^{a} (4Q51)	Includes portions of both 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel; supplies several verses before reaching 1 Sam 11:1, thereby providing the background of the story, which is lacking in the Masoretic Text.
11QPs^{a}	Most of Psalms 101–150, though in a different order from the canonical order, plus several additional noncanonical psalms. *See also* 2Q18 and 11QPs^{a} (Ben Sira) below.

B. Texts belonging to common Judaism (extrabiblical texts).

4Q196–4Q200 (4QTobit)	Four Aramaic manuscripts and one Hebrew manuscript of Tobit, a book of the Apocrypha (canonical in Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Bibles).
4Q215 (4QTNaph)	Commonly identified as a portion of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a noncanonical work. Some scholars now question whether this document is indeed from that work—in which case the siglum 4QNaph is sometimes used, indicating simply a text referring to Naphtali.

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4Q201–4Q211 (4QEnoch ar)	The book of Enoch, a noncanonical, pseudepigraphic work dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.E. Eleven fragmentary copies were found in Cave 4, with a smattering of fragmentary manuscripts found in Caves 1, 2, and 6; all of these are in Aramaic.
4Q216–4Q224 (4QJubilees)	The book of Jubilees, a noncanonical, pseudepigraphic work dated to the 2nd century B.C.E. Nine fragmentary copies were found in Cave 4, with nine additional fragmentary manuscripts distributed among Caves 1, 2, 3, and 11.
2Q18 and 11QPs[a]	Ben Sira, a wisdom book dated to c. 180 B.C.E. Though it was eventually not canonized in Judaism, the early rabbis cited the work as if it were canonical. It is, however, a book of the Apocrypha (canonical in Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Bibles). Thirteen verses from Ben Sira, chapter 6, appear in 2Q18, and nine verses from Ben Sira, chapter 51, appear in 11QPs[a].

C. Sectarian documents.

CD	The Damascus Document (18 columns long; Vermes, 125–156), based on the two medieval manuscripts found in the Cairo genizah. In the siglum, C stands for Cairo (where the manuscripts were found) and D stands for Damascus (representing the title of the composition). *See also* 4Q266–4Q273, 5Q12, and 6Q15.
1QGenAp ar	The Genesis Apocryphon (22 columns long; Vermes, 448–459), written in Aramaic, with expansive retellings of portions of the book of Genesis. One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
1QH	The Thanksgiving Hymns (27 columns long; Vermes, 243–300), a collection of hymns in praise of God, somewhat like the book of Psalms. The siglum 1QH is based on the Hebrew title *Hodayot* (meaning "thanksgiving hymns"). One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
1QM	The War Scroll (19 columns long; Vermes, 161–186), describing the conflict between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The siglum 1QM is based on the Hebrew term *milhama* (war). One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
1QpHab	The Pesher Habakkuk (13 columns long; Vermes, 478–485), a commentary on the biblical book of Habakkuk using the *pesher* system. One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
1QS	The Community Rule (also called Manual of Discipline; 11 columns long; Vermes, 97–124), which lays out the basic theological underpinnings of the community, along with the rules that governed day-to-day life. The siglum 1QS is based on the Hebrew title *Serekh ha-Yahad*. One of the first seven scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.
1QSa	Rule of the Congregation (or Messianic Rule); text that deals with the eschaton.
1Q14 (1QpMic)	The Pesher Micah, a commentary on the biblical book of Micah using the *pesher* system.
4Q159/4Q513–514	Ordinances; a commentary on various biblical laws, existing in three different Cave 4 manuscripts.
4Q163 (4QpIsa[c])	The Pesher Isaiah, a commentary on the biblical book of Isaiah using the *pesher* system. Exists in several copies (thus the [c]); includes reference to the "Wicked Priest."
4Q171 (4QpPs[a])	The Pesher Psalms, a commentary on the biblical book of Psalms using the *pesher* system. Exists in several copies (thus the [a]); includes references to both the "Teacher of Righteousness" and the "Wicked Priest."
4Q172 (4QpUnid)	A *pesher* text, though which biblical book it comments on cannot be identified because of the very fragmented manuscript (14 tiny pieces, with some containing only a single word). Uses the phrase "Teacher of Righteousness."
4Q173 (4QpPs[b])	The Pesher Psalms, a commentary on the biblical book of Psalms using the *pesher* system. Exists in several copies (thus the [b]); includes references to the "Teacher of Righteousness."

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4Q174 (4QFlorilegium)	A series of canonically disconnected verses, with commentary on each.
4Q177 (4QCatena[a])	A string of passages from Psalms, Isaiah, and so on with commentary, including reference to "sons of light."
4Q266–4Q273	Damascus Covenant (*see* CD) fragments from Cave 4.
4Q285 (4QSefer ha-Milhamah)	Book of the War (not to be confused with 1QM, the War Scroll); this text contains a passage read "pierced messiah" by Michael Wise and Robert Eisenman but "piercing messiah" by all other scholars.
4Q325 (4QCal)	Calendar text that mentions holidays (for wine, oil, and wood) not mentioned in the Torah.
4Q394–4Q399 (4QMMT)	"Some Precepts of Torah" (*Miqsat Ma'aseh HaTorah*), also known as the Halakhic Letter; this crucial text presents about 20 instances of disagreement over matters of Jewish law, which thereby separated the Qumran sect from its opponents.
4Q400–4Q407 (4QShirShab)	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, a liturgical text that presents the songs sung by the angels in heaven on the Sabbath, presumably as a parallel liturgy to the prayers and sacrifices offered by humans on earth. *See also* 11Q17. Note that some scholars believe this composition to be part of common Judaism and thus not a sectarian document.
4Q408 (4QapocrMoses[c]?)	Although the title "Apocryphon of Moses" has been suggested for this document, it is better to consider it unidentified (note the question mark). The composition appears to be a liturgical text, including, among other statements, praise of God for creating light and darkness, paralleling to a great extent the later rabbinic formulation recited before the declamation of the Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4).
4Q422 (4QParaphrase of Gen and Exod)	A paraphrase of portions of Genesis and Exodus, including, for example, a one-column (12-line) summary of the long biblical account of the 10 plagues.
4Q434 (4QBarkhi Nafshi[a])	One of five manuscripts (4Q434–4Q438) of the *Barkhi Nafshi* ("bless, my soul") document (see the formula used five times in Psalms 103–104), which lists manifold reasons why God should be blessed. Moshe Weinfeld identified several lines in fragment 2 as a precursor to the later rabbinic formulation of the grace after meals.
4Q448 (4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer)	Text that includes both a short psalm (unknown from the canonical Psalms) and a prayer for King Jonathan. This represents one of the few times that a Qumran document mentions a historical figure by name, though scholars debate the identity of this person as either Jonathan Maccabee or Alexander Janneus.
4Q477 (4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer)	A list of individuals, mentioned by name, who were rebuked by the overseer of the community for various (minor?) infringements, including one person named Hananiah Nothos.
4Q507–4Q509 (4QPrFêtes)	Three copies, all fragmentary, of a liturgical text with prayers for festivals, including particular mention of Yom Kippur and First Fruits (Shavu'ot).
4Q510–4Q511 (4QShir[a]–4QShir[b])	Two fragmentary copies of the Song of the Sage (Hebrew *šir*, meaning "song"), mentioned in our course on two accounts: (a) the text includes mentions of the phrase "sons of light," and (b) Hartmut Stegemann was able to reconstruct the more than 200 fragments into a coherent composition.
4Q513–4Q514	Two additional Ordinances manuscripts; *see* 4Q159.
5Q12	Damascus Document (*see* CD) fragment from Cave 5.
6Q15	Damascus Document (*see* CD) fragment from Cave 6.
7Q5	Extremely fragmentary Greek text, which Jose O'Callaghan believed to be Mark 6:52–53.
11Q17	Additional manuscript of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. *See* 4Q400–4Q407.

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11QT	The Temple Scroll (67 columns long; Vermes, 190–219), the longest and one of the most important of the Dead Sea Scrolls, presenting the *Yahad*'s view of the Temple, with associated laws and rituals.

D. Unique texts.

3Q15	The Copper Scroll (12 columns long; Vermes, 583–589), the most unusual Qumran document. Written on copper sheets; describes an immense treasure hidden in different places.
Kh.Q. Ostracon 1	Inscribed piece of pottery (ostracon) found at Khirbet Qumran (and thus not in the caves); mentions transfer of property of a certain Honi to the *Yahad*, via an individual named Elazar ben Nahmani (apparently the overseer or bursar).
Vision of Gabriel	Also known as the Dead Sea Stone. An inscription on stone (not parchment or papyrus) that was found in a private collection and published in 2007; about one meter high, with 87 inscribed lines.

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Timeline

B.C.E.

c. 1200	Israel first appears in the historical record.
c. 1000–930	Period of Israel's United Monarchy under David and Solomon.
c. 965	Solomon constructs the First Temple.
c. 930–721	Kingdom of Israel, which ends in destruction by Assyria.
c. 930–586	Kingdom of Judah, which ends in destruction by Babylonia.
586–538	Babylonian Exile.
538	Cyrus the Great of Persia allows Jews to return to Judah and to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple.
516	Second Temple completed.
331	Alexander the Great conquers the Persian Empire, including the land of Israel.
301–198	Ptolemy dynasty, based in Alexandria, Egypt, rules the land of Israel.
198–164	Seleucid dynasty, based in Antioch, Syria, rules the land of Israel.
175–164	Antiochus IV Epiphanes rules as Seleucid king, institutes anti-Jewish policies and persecutions.
164	Maccabean revolt results in independence for Judea and begins the Hasmonean dynasty.
c. 150	Founding of the *Yahad*, or Qumran sect.
134–104	Reign of Hasmonean king John Hyrcanus.
103–76	Reign of Hasmonean king Alexander Janneus.
63	Roman general Pompey captures Jerusalem.
37–4	King Herod the Great, a Hasmonean by marriage, rules Judea.

C.E.

c. 6	Jesus is born in Bethlehem.
6	Rule of the Hasmonean dynasty effectively ends; Judea is henceforth ruled directly by Roman prefects and procurators.
26–36	Pontius Pilate rules as Roman prefect of Judea.
c. 28	Jesus is baptized by John the Baptist and begins his ministry.
30	Jesus is crucified.
c. 47–64	Paul makes missionary journeys in the eastern Mediterranean.
65–70	Redaction of the Gospel of Mark.
66–73	First Jewish Revolt against Rome.
68	Qumran is destroyed by the Romans.
70	Second Temple is destroyed during the Roman assault on Jerusalem.
70–90	Redaction of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.
73	Fall of Masada, the last holdout of the Zealots against the Roman legions.
90–100	Redaction of the Gospel of John.
132–135	Second Jewish Revolt against Rome, led by Simeon Bar Kokhba; Jews are barred from entering Jerusalem.

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c. 150	The core of the Jewish canon (Torah, Prophets, Psalms) is fixed; other books' status remains pliable for some time.
c. 200	Redaction of the Mishna by R. Judah ha-Nasi.
313	Emperor Constantine issues the Edict of Milan, making Christianity a tolerated religion in the Roman Empire.
391	Emperor Theodosius makes Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire.
c. 400	Redaction of the Talmud of the Land of Israel (a.k.a. Talmud Yerushalmi, or Jerusalem Talmud).
476	Fall of the Western Roman Empire; the Eastern Empire, or Byzantium, survives until 1453.
c. 500	Redaction of the Babylonian Talmud (a.k.a. Talmud Bavli).
890	Ben Ezra Synagogue is built in Cairo.
1000–1250	Zenith of the Jewish community of Cairo and heyday of the documents in the Cairo genizah, including the two copies of the Damascus Document.
1896	First Cairo genizah documents arrive in England for study by Solomon Schechter; among these are copies of the book of Ben Sira and the Damascus Document.
Spring 1947	First scrolls are discovered in Qumran Cave 1.
July 1947	Mar Samuel obtains four of the original Dead Sea Scrolls.
November 1947	United Nations approves the partition plan for Palestine; Eliezer Sukenik purchases three of the original Dead Sea Scrolls on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
February 1948	Mar Samuel entrusts publication of the scrolls in his possession to scholars associated with the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR).
May 1948	Modern state of Israel is proclaimed; seven Arab nations, including Jordan, attack Israel; six of the first seven scrolls are published by Sukenik and ASOR scholars.
1948–1956	Systematic exploration of the caves at Qumran, with 10 additional caves, numbers 2–11, yielding documents; Roland de Vaux excavates the nearby site of Khirbet Qumran.
1954	International team of scholars is established to publish the growing cache of Dead Sea Scrolls; Yigael Yadin purchases four of the original Dead Sea Scrolls from Mar Samuel via an ad placed in *The Wall Street Journal*.
1955	First volume of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series appears, including all Cave 1 fragments.
1956	Genesis Apocryphon, the most brittle and difficult to read of the original seven scrolls, is published.
1967	Six-Day War results in Israel gaining control of all of Jerusalem and the West Bank (including the site of Qumran); the Copper Scroll is placed on display at Amman, Jordan; Yadin obtains the Temple Scroll.
1977	Yadin publishes the Temple Scroll.
1984	Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell announce the existence of the Halakhic Letter.
1991	Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg reconstruct the unpublished scrolls by using a privately distributed concordance; the Huntington Library announces that it possesses a complete set of photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls; due to slow publication of the scrolls, the Israeli Antiquities Authority removes Strugnell and appoints Emanuel Tov head of the publishing team.
1994	Qimron and Strugnell publish the Halakhic Letter.
2002	Official publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series is complete.
2007	Discovery and publication of the Vision of Gabriel stone inscription.

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Glossary

Aleppo Codex: Earliest extant codex of the Hebrew Bible; completed about 930 C.E. and now housed in Jerusalem.

American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR): Academic research center in Jerusalem devoted to the study of the Bible, archaeology, and ancient history.

Amman Archaeological Museum: Main archaeological museum in Jordan that houses the Copper Scroll and some other texts.

anti-language: Language used by a specific group within a society to distinguish itself from the larger population.

apocalyptic: Subbranch of eschatology, with specific adherence to the notion that a cataclysmic battle will vault humanity into the eschaton.

Aramaic: Semitic language that spread in late antiquity and thus became the lingua franca of many Near East peoples, including the Jews.

Babylonian Exile: Period following the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem, 586–538 B.C.E.

Babylonian Talmud: Encyclopedic collection of rabbinic law and lore, completed around 500 C.E. in Babylonia.

Babylonians: Major power of Mesopotamia, responsible for the destruction of the First Temple and the conquest of Judah in 586 B.C.E.

B.C.E.: Before the Common Era.

Belial: Hebrew term referring to Satan.

Ben Ezra Synagogue: Medieval synagogue in Cairo, home of the Cairo genizah.

Ben Sira: Ancient Jewish poetic composition from about 180 B.C.E. that is canonized by Christians, though not by Jews.

Biblical Archaeology Society: Organization, located in Washington DC that seeks to bring archaeological discoveries and biblical research to an educated lay audience.

Boethusians: Offshoot of the Sadducees mentioned in the Talmud; unfortunately, little is known about this group.

Caesarea: Major harbor city on the Mediterranean coast of Israel.

Cairo genizah: Storeroom of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in which approximately 200,000 manuscripts of the medieval period were found.

canon: Set of books considered to be authoritative by a particular religious group.

Capernaum: Village on the shore of the Sea of Galilee in northern Israel.

carbon-14: Radioactive isotope of carbon whose half-life can be used to date any organic material.

C.E.: Common Era.

Chaldeans: Term used by some biblical writers to refer to the Babylonians.

Christ: Greek for "messiah," literally "anointed one"; applied to Jesus by Christians.

Christianity: Movement that developed in early Judaism and became its own religion, centered on the messiahhood of Jesus.

church fathers: Early Christian theologians, especially those who lived in the 2nd–5th centuries C.E.

compatabilism: Doctrine that holds that both free will and predestination are at work in human lives.

Dead Sea Scrolls: Cache of 930 documents found at Qumran.

Diaspora: Collective Jewish community living outside the land of Israel.

Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD): Official publication series of the Dead Sea Scrolls published by Oxford University Press.

Dor: Harbor city on the Mediterranean coast of Israel.

Dositheans: Ancient Samaritan sect.

Ebionites: Jewish Christian sect that accepted Jesus as messiah but did not believe him to be divine.

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École Biblique et Archéologique Française: Academic research center in Jerusalem established and administered by Dominican priests.

Edom: Country to the south of ancient Israel.

Ein Gedi: Oasis site 33 kilometers south of Qumran on the shore of the Dead Sea.

Enoch: Ancient Jewish composition, dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.E., that purports to describe the ancient hero Enoch's visit to heaven based on the reference in Genesis 5:24.

eschatology: Belief in the end of days, an end time, or the eschaton.

Essenes: Ancient Jewish sect; most scholars identify the Qumran sect with this group.

Ethiopian: Ancient Semitic language, also called Geez, now used only as a liturgical language by Ethiopic Christians.

Gamla: City in northeastern ancient Israel.

Genesis Rabba: Collection of legends related to the book of Genesis, dated circa 400 C.E.

Halakah: Hebrew term for Jewish law.

Hanukkah: Holiday established to celebrate the successful Maccabean revolt against the Seleucids in 164 B.C.E.

Hasmoneans: Dynasty founded by the Maccabees that lasted from 164 B.C.E. to 6 C.E.; they ruled first as high priests, then later as kings.

Hebrew: Ancient Semitic language in which the vast majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls are written.

Hellenism: General term for the spread of Greek culture, science, architecture, philosophy, and so forth into the Near East.

Herodion: Mausoleum of Herod, 12 kilometers south of Jerusalem.

Huntington Library: Educational and research institution located in San Marino, California, whose collections include a complete set of photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Idumea: Name of Edom in late antiquity; land to the south of Israel.

Israel, kingdom of: Kingdom established on the death of Solomon (c. 930 B.C.E.) comprising the nine northern tribes; it was destroyed in 721 B.C.E.

Israel Antiquities Authority: Official branch of the modern Israeli government responsible for all archaeological work in the country.

Israel Museum: Main archaeological museum in Jerusalem. It includes a special pavilion called the Shrine of the Book that houses and displays the major Dead Sea Scrolls.

Jericho: Nearest city in Israel to Qumran.

Jerusalem: Capital of Israel; site of the Temple.

Jordanian Department of Antiquities: Official branch of the modern Jordanian government responsible for all archaeological work in the country.

Jubilees: Jewish composition of the 2nd century B.C.E. that retells the stories of Genesis and Exodus via the framework of 50-year periods of history known as jubilees.

Judah, kingdom of: Kingdom established on the death of Solomon (c. 930 B.C.E.) comprising the three southern tribes; it was destroyed in 586 B.C.E.

Kabbalah: Jewish mysticism.

Karaism: Jewish movement that developed in the 8th century C.E. that denied the Oral Law and thus may descend from the Sadducees.

Karaites: Adherents to Karaism.

Khirbet Qumran: Literally "ruin of Qumran"; the archaeological site near the Qumran caves.

Kittim: Hebrew term used to refer to Crete in the Bible, though used as a coded term in the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Romans.

Leningrad Codex: Second oldest extant codex of the Hebrew Bible, dated 1009–1010 C.E. and now housed in St. Petersburg, Russia.

linguistic ideology: Anthropological notion that sees social, cultural, and/or political values reflected in language usage.

Maccabees: Family of Jews who led the successful revolt against the Seleucids in 164 B.C.E.

Masada: Remote fortress in the Judean Desert; last outpost of the Zealots in their revolt against the Romans in 73 C.E.

Masora: Hebrew term for the oral reading tradition transmitted by Jewish tradents from the biblical period into the early medieval period.

Masoretic Text: The authoritative text produced by the Masora tradents around 800 C.E.

messiah: Derived from Hebrew *mešiah*, "anointed one," eventually understood to be an individual who will vault humanity into the eschatological age.

mezuza: Small scrolls containing several biblical passages that are affixed to doorposts, in conformity with Deuteronomy 6:9 and 11:20.

Mishna: First codification of Jewish law, redacted by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi around 200 C.E.

Modi'in: Town in ancient Israel that was home of the Maccabees.

Mount Gerizim: Mountain in central Israel; site of the Samaritan Temple in antiquity.

Nahal Hever: Wadi near Ein Gedi; documents written by Simeon Bar Kokhba and his colleagues were found in caves nearby.

Nash Papyrus: Small text containing the Ten Commandments (among other biblical texts) and dated to circa 100 B.C.E.; obtained in Egypt in 1898, it is now housed in the Cambridge University Library.

Nazareth: City in northern Israel; home of Jesus.

neo-Aristotelianism: Philosophical movement in the Middle Ages and earlier that adhered to the thought of Aristotle.

neo-Platonism: Philosophical movement in the Middle Ages and earlier that adhered to the thought of Plato.

neutron activation: Laboratory test used by archaeologists to determine the origin of the clay used in pots, vessels, and other objects.

New Testament: Collection of books canonized by Christianity detailing the lives of Jesus and his early followers.

Oral Law: Rabbinic concept of a legal tradition that originates at Sinai alongside the Written Law, or Torah.

ostracon: Inscribed piece of pottery.

Palestine Archaeology Museum (**PAM**): Museum in East Jerusalem where the Dead Sea Scrolls were taken for study and publication; later renamed the Rockefeller Museum.

pesher: Method of interpretation of biblical books, attested in approximately 20 Dead Sea Scrolls, in which the original historical context is disregarded and instead the ancient text is understood as speaking to the present. This type of exegesis is seen in the New Testament as well.

Pharisees: Ancient Jewish sect that later emerged as the rabbinic movement.

Ptolemies: Successor kingdom to Alexander the Great centered in Alexandria, Egypt.

Qumran: Site of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, situated on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea.

rabbi: Hebrew for "my master"—that is, a master of the law.

Rockefeller Museum: *See* **Palestine Archaeology Museum**.

Roman Empire: The great ruling power of the Mediterranean basin, including the land of Israel, from 63 B.C.E.

Sabbath: Weekly day of rest in Judaism, occurring every Saturday.

Sadducees: Ancient Jewish sect that emphasized sacrificial worship of God, led by a priestly class.

Samaria: Capital of the northern kingdom of Israel and, by extension, the central hill country region of the land of Israel.

Samaritans: Offshoot of Judaism based in the area of Samaria; its adherents believed that Mount Gerizim was the place where God was to be worshipped, not Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

Satan: Hebrew for "adversary"; name of the embodiment of evil in early Judaism and Christianity.

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Seleucids: Successor kingdom to Alexander the Great based in Antioch, present-day northern Syria/southern Turkey.

Septuagint: Translation of the Torah into Greek accomplished by the Jews of Alexandria around 250 B.C.E.

Shavu'ot: Literally "weeks"; Jewish holiday that occurs seven weeks (about 50 days) after Passover; thus it is also known as Pentecost.

Shrine of the Book: Special pavilion at the Israel Museum that houses and displays the major Dead Sea Scrolls.

Sicarri: Alternative term for Zealots.

synagogue: Literally "place of coming together"; locus of Jewish worship and study from the 1st century B.C.E. onward.

synoptic gospels: Term applied to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, which narrate essentially the same biography of Jesus, though with crucial differences.

Talmud: Literally "learning, study"; refers to the two great collections of rabbinic writings: the Talmud of the Land of Israel and the Babylonian Talmud.

Talmud of the Land of Israel: Encyclopedic collection of rabbinic law and lore completed around 400 C.E. in Tiberias in northern Israel.

Targum (pl. **Targumim**): Aramaic translation of a biblical book.

Teacher of Righteousness: Code name for the leader (perhaps founder) of the Qumran sect, or *Yahad*.

tefillin: Ritual objects consisting of leather straps and small boxes containing tiny scrolls with select biblical verses, used by Jews in the daily prayer service; usually rendered into English as "phylacteries."

Temple: Site of sacrificial worship of the God of Israel in Jerusalem until its destruction in 70 C.E.

Therapeutae: Ascetic group in Egypt.

Tiberias: City in northern Israel on the shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Torah: Literally "teaching"; refers to the first five books of the Bible (also called the Pentateuch, literally "five scrolls"), which form the first part of the biblical canon in both Judaism and Christianity. For Jews, these five books, which contain the most familiar stories of Genesis and Exodus along with the legal and cultic instructions in Exodus and Deuteronomy, remain at the core of religious life, liturgy, and tradition.

Tosefta: Companion volume to the Mishna—that is, a parallel collection of Halakah.

Wadi Muraba'at: Wadi near Ein Gedi; documents written by Simeon Bar Kokhba and his colleagues were found in nearby caves.

Wadi Qumran: Dry river bed (though it flows during the winter rainy season) that flows in the vicinity of Qumran.

Wicked Priest: Code name for the opponent of the *Yahad*, presumably referring to one of the Hasmonean leaders who assumed the position of high priest.

Yahad: Literally "community"; the self-designation of the Qumran sect.

Yahweh: Proper name of the God of Israel, traditionally rendered as "LORD" in English.

YHWH: English rendering of the four-letter name of the God of Israel.

Yom Kippur: Day of Atonement, occurring on month seven, day 10.

Zealots: Group of Jewish revolutionaries who led the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–73 C.E.).

Zoroastrianism: National religion of ancient Persia, characterized most of all by dualism and recognizing two gods: one embodying goodness and one embodying evil.

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Biographical Notes

Premodern Individuals

Aaron (dates unknown): Brother of Moses.

Alexander Janneus (r. 103–76 B.C.E.): Hasmonean king.

Alexander the Great (r. 333–323 B.C.E.): King of Macedon, conqueror of the entire Near East and beyond.

Antiochus IV (r. 175–164 B.C.E.): Seleucid king.

Aristobulus I (r. 104–103 B.C.E.): Hasmonean king.

Augustine (354–430 C.E.): Church father.

Augustus Caesar (r. 27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.): Roman emperor.

Clement (c. 150–217 C.E.): Church father.

David (r. c. 1000–c. 965 B.C.E.): Second king of Israel.

Elazar ben Nahmani (dates unknown): Individual mentioned in a Qumran ostracon who apparently served as the overseer or bursar for the *Yahad*.

Eusebius (c. 260–340 C.E.): Church father.

Hananiah Nothos (dates unknown): Individual mentioned in a Qumran text as one who was punished for misconduct; since personal names are exceedingly rare in the Dead Sea Scrolls, he serves as the model average *Yahad* member in scholarly discourse.

Herod (r. 37–4 B.C.E.): Hasmonean king by marriage.

Herodotus (c. 484–c. 425 B.C.E.): Ancient Greek historian.

Jacob of Kefar Nevoraia (dates unknown): Individual named in the rabbinic text Genesis Rabba.

James (fl. 1st century C.E.): Brother of Jesus, leader of the Judaizing Christian movement.

Jason (fl. early 2nd century B.C.E.): Jewish priest who contested for the high priesthood.

Jerome (c. 347–420 C.E.): Church father who translated the Bible into Latin.

Jesus (fl. 1st century C.E.): Messianic figure whose followers launched the Christian movement.

John Hyrcanus (r. 134–104 B.C.E.): Hasmonean king.

John the Baptist (fl. 1st century C.E.): Early follower of Jesus.

Jonathan Maccabee (r. 161–143 B.C.E.): Hasmonean high priest.

Josephus (c. 37–c. 100 C.E.): Ancient Jewish historian whose voluminous writings provide essential information for the reconstruction of Jewish history in late antiquity.

Judah ha-Nasi (fl. late 2nd–early 3rd century C.E.): Leading rabbinic figure; compiler and redactor of the Mishna.

Livy (59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.): Ancient Roman historian.

Maimonides (1135–1204 C.E.): Great medieval Jewish philosopher, legal expert, and physician; lived in Spain and Egypt.

Malachi (fl. c. 450 B.C.E.): Last of the biblical prophets.

Menelaus (fl. early 2nd century B.C.E.): Jewish priest who contested for the high priesthood.

Moses (dates unknown): Prophet and leader of the Israelites in the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy.

Origen (185–254 C.E.): Church father.

Paul (fl. 1st century C.E.): Dominant figure in the earliest years of Christianity; leader of the non-Judaizing Christians.

Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.–c. 50 C.E.): Ancient Jewish philosopher in Alexandria.

Pilate (r. 26–36 C.E.): Roman governor of Judea.

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Pliny the Elder (24–79 C.E.): Roman polymath (scientist, historian, naturalist, and admiral in the Roman navy); wrote *Natural History*.

Pompey (106–48 B.C.E.): Roman general; first Roman authority to control Judea, starting in 63 B.C.E.

Rabban Gamaliel (fl. 1st century C.E.): Major rabbinic figure mentioned in the New Testament; teacher of Paul.

Rabbi Meir (fl. 2nd century C.E.): Major rabbinic figure.

Saul (r. c. 1020–1000 B.C.E.): First king of Israel.

Simeon Bar Kokhba (fl. 2nd century C.E.): Leader of the Second Jewish Revolt against the Romans (132–135 C.E.).

Solomon (c. 965–930 B.C.E.): Third king of Israel and son of David.

Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274 C.E.): Medieval Christian theologian and philosopher.

Timotheus I (fl. c. 800 C.E.): Nestorian patriarch.

William of Tyre (c. 1130–1185): Medieval Christian prelate and historian.

Zadok (fl. c. 10th century B.C.E.): High priest in Jerusalem during the reigns of David and Solomon.

Modern Individuals

Abegg, Martin (b. 1950): Assisted Ben Zion Wacholder in the publication of *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* while still a graduate student at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati; now a professor at Trinity Western University.

Albright, W. F. (1891–1971): Doyen of American biblical archaeologists; specialist in an array of ancient Near Eastern subjects; long-time professor at Johns Hopkins University.

Allegro, John (1923–1988): Professor at the University of Manchester and an early researcher into the Dead Sea Scrolls, he published all the texts assigned to him with alacrity.

Baker, H. Wright (fl. 20th century): Expert at the Manchester College of Science and Technology who cut the Copper Scroll into single sheets, thereby allowing scholars to read the text.

Bar-Adon, Pesach (1907–1985): Israeli archaeologist who explored caves in the general vicinity of Qumran off and on during 1971, 1972, and 1982, including a large cave near Cave 11 that yielded remains from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. *See also* **Jones, Vendyl**.

Betz, Otto (1917–2005): German Professor of New Testament studies who was a leading proponent of a John the Baptist–Dead Sea Scrolls connection.

Broshi, Magen (b. 1929): Israeli archaeologist and former curator of the Shrine of the Book (Israel Museum) who, together with Hanan Eshel, established a clear link between the Qumran caves and Khirbet Qumran, especially by discovering an ancient trodden path that connects the two.

Cansdale, Lena (b. 20th century): Independent scholar who believes that Qumran was an important commercial center on a north-south trade route through the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea with no connection to the scrolls found in the nearby caves.

Cross, Frank Moore (b. 1921): Leading professor of the Bible at Harvard University; active in the publication of biblical manuscripts from among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Donceel, Robert (b. 20th century): Belgian archaeologist who, with wife and colleague Pauline Donceele-Voute, posits that Qumran was a villa inhabited by wealthy individuals with no connection to the scrolls found in the nearby caves.

Donceel-Voute, Pauline (b. 20th century): *See* **Donceel, Robert**.

Driver, G. R. (1892–1975): Leading biblical scholar at Oxford University who believed that the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the War Scroll, are evidence of composition by the Zealot group. *See also* **Rabin, Chaim**.

Dupont-Sommer, André (1900–1983): French scholar who first argued the *Yahad*-Essene connection in detail, especially in his monograph *Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*.

Eisenman, Robert (b. 1937): Professor at California State University at Long Beach who believes that many, if not most, of the scrolls date to the 1st century C.E. and that the Teacher of Righteousness is to be identified with James, brother of Jesus.

Eshel, Esther (b. 20th century): Professor of Ancient Jewish Literature at Bar-Ilan University; excellent representative of the younger generation of Dead Sea Scrolls researchers.

Eshel, Hanan (b. 1958): Israeli archaeologist and professor at Bar-Ilan University who, together with Magen Broshi, established a clear link between the Qumran caves and Khirbet Qumran, especially by discovering an ancient trodden path that connects the two.

Ginzberg, Louis (1873–1953): Leading Professor of Talmud at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York who produced the basic interpretation of the Damascus Document, soon after its discovery in the Cairo genizah, under the title *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* ("An Unknown Jewish Sect").

Golb, Norman (b. 1928): Professor at the University of Chicago who believes that the scrolls have no connection to Khirbet Qumran nor to the Essenes; rather, he opines that the scrolls represent the library of the Jerusalem Temple.

Hirschfeld, Yizhar (b. 20th century): Israeli archaeologist who claims that Khirbet Qumran constitutes the remains of a fortress; he places the Essene community referred to by Pliny the Elder in the cliffs above Ein Gedi. *See also* **Magen, Yitzhak** and **Peleg, Yuval**.

Humbert, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1940): French archaeologist and official heir to the materials excavated at Qumran by Roland de Vaux; he developed a hybrid view concerning Khirbet Qumran, suggesting that the site began as a villa rustica but that the Dead Sea Scrolls sect later came and occupied the site.

Jones, Vendyl (b. 1930): American explorer who assisted Pesach Bar-Adon and then continued to explore caves in the vicinity of Qumran in 1985–1986.

Kando (a.k.a. **Khalil Iskander Shahin**; fl. 20th century): Bethlehem antiquities dealer who served as intermediary between the Bedouin discoverers of the Dead Sea Scrolls and scholars in Jerusalem.

Magen, Yitzhak (b. 20th century): Israeli archaeologist who collaborates with Yizhar Hirschfeld.

Magness, Jodi (b. 20th century): Archaeologist and professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill who wrote the standard work *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Milik, J. T. (1922–2006): Polish-born priest who lived mainly in Paris; a major Dead Sea Scrolls scholar, he was heralded by *Time* magazine in 1956 as "the fastest man with a fragment."

O'Callaghan, Jose (1922–2001): Spanish Jesuit scholar who believed that 7Q5, a fragmentary text written in Greek, is a copy of Mark 6:52–53, thus connecting at least one of the scrolls very directly to the New Testament.

Peleg, Yuval (b. 20th century): Israeli archaeologist who collaborates with Yizhar Hirschfeld.

Petrach, Joseph (b. 20th century): Israeli archaeologist who explored dozens of caves in the Dead Sea region between 1984 and 1986 and then again in 1991. He found archaeological remains from the Second Temple period in 17 such caves.

Qimron, Elisha (b. 1943): Israeli scholar at Ben-Gurion University and expert in Qumran Hebrew who, with John Strugnell, is responsible for the publication of the Halakhic Letter. He sued Hershel Shanks in an Israeli court over the latter's publication of a reconstructed edition of this text.

Rabin, Chaim (1915–1996): Leading Professor of the Hebrew Language at the Hebrew University who believed that the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the War Scroll, are artifacts of the Zealot group. *See also* **Driver, G. R.**

Renan, Ernst (1823–1892): Major French scholar who traced connections between the Essenes and early Christianity.

Roitman, Adolfo (b. 20th century): Curator of the Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum; author and editor of *A Day at Qumran*.

Rossi, Azariah dei (1511–1578): Major figure of the Renaissance, a Jewish savant of 16th-century Italy, and the first to write a critical history of the Jews in ancient times using all available sources (including classical historians and church fathers, who had written in Greek and Latin).

Samuel, Mar (1907–1995): Head of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem who at one point owned four of the first seven Dead Sea Scrolls to emerge from Cave 1.

Schechter, Solomon (1847–1915): Reader of Hebrew at Cambridge University, he identified the Hebrew original of Ben Sira among the documents of the Cairo genizah; published the Damascus Document, also found in the Cairo genizah; and was later president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Schiffman, Lawrence (b. 1948): Professor at New York University, leading expert on the Dead Sea Scrolls, proponent of Qumran-Sadducee connections, and author of *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

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Schniedewind, William (b. 1962): Professor of the Bible at the University of California, Los Angeles, who developed the notion that Qumran Hebrew served as an anti-language for the *Yahad*.

Schweitzer, Albert (1875–1965): Physician, humanist, and scholar who wrote about the uniqueness of Jesus and thus opposed the historical Jesus trend among scholars.

Shanks, Hershel (b. 1930): Founder and director of the Biblical Archaeology Society in Washington DC, he led the crusade for the release of the unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls during the 1980s and was sued by Elisha Qimron in an Israeli court over the publication of the Halakhic Letter.

Singer, Margaret (1921–2003): Clinical psychologist and professor at the University of California, Berkeley, who studied the use of in-group language among contemporary cults.

Stegemann, Hartmut (1933–2005): German scholar of New Testament studies who developed a unique way to correlate manuscript fragments with one another, mainly by looking at their physical properties.

Strugnell, John (1930–2007): Professor at Harvard University and the youngest member of the original international team of scholars entrusted with the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls; brought Elisha Qimron on board to assist him in the publication of the Halakhic Letter.

Sukenik, Eliezer (1889–1953): Leading Israeli archaeologist of the Hebrew University who obtained and published three of the first seven Dead Sea Scrolls to surface; he is also the father of Yigael Yadin.

Sussman, Yaakov (b. 1931): Professor of Talmud at the Hebrew University who has proposed Essene-Boethusian connections.

Tabor, James (b. 1946): Professor at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte who explored Qumran with Joseph Zias and discovered a latrine about 500 meters northwest of the community center.

Theiring, Barbara (b. 1930): Independent scholar who believes that the Dead Sea Scrolls originated in the 1st century C.E. and have specific connections to early Christianity; she even claims that the Teacher of Righteousness is John the Baptist and that the Wicked Priest is Jesus.

Tolkien, J. R. R. (1892–1973): Professor of Anglo-Saxon and Old English at Oxford University and author of *The Lord of the Rings* and other major literary works; he is relevant to this course for his exemplary attention to language in the creation of a literary text.

Tov, Emanuel (b. 1941): Professor of Bible at the Hebrew University and expert in the Septuagint and the transmission of the biblical text through the ages, he was appointed head of the Dead Sea Scrolls publication committee in 1991 and oversaw the completion of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series.

Vaux, Roland de (1903–1971): French Dominican priest, director of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem, and director of the excavations at Qumran in 1951–1956.

Vermes, Geza (b. 1924): Hungarian-born Professor of Ancient Judaism at Oxford University, leading Dead Sea Scrolls researcher, and editor and translator of *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*.

Wacholder, Ben Zion (b. 1921): Professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and expert on the Dead Sea Scrolls who, with Martin Abegg, published *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* (1991) based on a privately circulated concordance of the documents.

Weinfeld, Moshe (1925–2009): Professor of Bible at the Hebrew University, he identified 4Q434 fragment 2 as a precursor to the later rabbinic formulation of the grace after meals.

Wilson, Edmund (1895–1972): American literary critic who popularized the Dead Sea Scrolls via an essay in *The New Yorker* in 1955 and a book that appeared later that year, *The Scrolls of the Dead Sea*.

Wise, Michael (b. 20th century): Professor at the University of Chicago who believes that 4Q285 refers to a "pierced messiah" and thus serves as a precursor to the Jesus story.

Yadin, Yigael (1917–1984): Both a leading general in the Israeli army and a leading historian and archaeologist, he was a major figure in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. He published the Temple Scroll and was the son of Eliezer Sukenik.

Zeitlin, Solomon (1886–1976): Professor of Ancient Judaism at Dropsie College in Philadelphia who went against the scholarly consensus by proclaiming that the scrolls were of medieval origin.

Zias, Joseph: Israeli archaeologist who, together with James Tabor, explored Qumran and discovered a latrine about 500 meters northwest of the community center.

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García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997. The complete Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, with Hebrew (or Aramaic) text and English translation on facing pages.

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Horgan, Maurya P. *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books*. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979. A convenient collection of the all the *pesher* texts in English translation and with extensive comments.

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